Proposal to the President on Amnesty *James Reston, J*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts – October 9, 1971, 50 cents

Money for Men

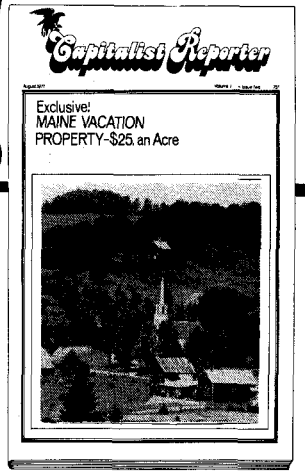
The dispatch and continued presence of about 50,000 South Korean troops in Vietnam – arranged, all expenses paid, by the United States (the funding was concealed from Congress until 1970) – is a little noticed but disastrous chapter in the endless agony of Vietnam. For misleading the American people, indifference to atrocities against the Vietnamese, sheer war profiteering and actions contrary to traditional concepts of American national honor, the use of "Free World Military Forces" (FWMF) may be the most sordid and cynical aspect of the war. The Pentagon Papers show the precise sequence of the recruitment in Asia. McGeorge Bundy's "National Security Action Memorandum 328," of April 6, 1965, noted the President's approval five days earlier of the "urgent exploration, with the Korean, Australian, and New Zealand governments, of the possibility of rapid deployment of significant combat elements from their armed forces in parallel with the additional US Marine deployment. . . ." On April 15, 1965, Washington instructed Ambassador Taylor in Saigon to discuss with Saigon "introduction of ROK

(Continued on page 7)

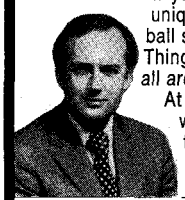
BALDWIN WLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRO
BEREA OHIO 44017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY!



Opportunity is all around you...



"If you'll invest in a postage stamp, I'll send you a free sample issue of **The Capitalist Reporter**—a unique monthly magazine of money-making information. You'll discover ingenious, inside ways to snowball small amounts of capital—sometimes double, even triple it within a single year—and have fun, too. Things you can start doing—right away—right from your own home. After all, financial opportunity is *all around you, often in the unlikeliest of places You've just got to know where to look, be quick to act.* At this very moment, over 30 of our writers and researchers are at work on four continents. *Irresistible* ways of making money are being uncovered in this lavishly illustrated magazine. Here is information that turns financial opportunity into green reality! Prove it to yourself by mailing this coupon, and I'll rush you a free sample of **The Capitalist Reporter.**"

Patrick W. H. Garrard
Chairman & Editorial Director

Land Grab

Canadian farm land near U.S. border $15/acre...rural U.S. property $25/acre...$10/acre on Portugese Riviera...Australian ranch land $5/acre...Caribbean property $100/acre. Why so cheap? We know *where* to look, *how* to buy. (Avoid land developers. Buy direct from a government...pick up tax-sale bargains, abandoned farms, timber land. Buy overseas: Land is still dirt-cheap, but is rising as *air fares drop* and more people travel farther afield.) **The Capitalist Reporter** spotlights choice areas...tells you who to see...how much to pay...what to look for & avoid...etc. Handle the preliminaries from home. **C/R EXCLUSIVE:** British Colonial Office will soon unload choice acreage on exquisite, little-known Caribbean island. Your price? Peanuts!

Travel

Where to buy luxury cars in Europe (Mercedes, Jaguars, etc.) at discount prices... how to insult thieving, insolent natives in their own language...where to pack your kids off to a ranch for summer work...which airport duty-free shops offer authentic bargains (e.g. Amsterdam) and which are best avoided (e.g. Shannon)...wallow in luxury behind the Iron Curtain (like a Capitalist pig?) for under $10 a day...buy your own crumbling though habitable castle in Spain for about $5000...deal in black market currency...finance a trip to Hungary on Wilkinson razor blades...etc. Every month, in **The Capitalist Reporter.**

Wall St.

What can we tell you about the market that's fresh, original & *useful?* A great deal. • Summary of major market letter recommendations (save yourself hundreds of dollars in annual subscriptions). • Monthly column by a market insider, *with an uncanny knack for being right.* (He foresaw the recent upturn.) Find out what's going to happen later this year. • Features you'll see nowhere else: How Wall Street's Three Most Powerful Writers Make & Cost *You* Money; How to Read Company Reports (and Other Hallucinations); Rating the Investment Advisory Services—Which Are Best?; An Insider's Guide to the Tokyo Market; etc.

Wealth

Take almost any rational, *level-headed man*—*give* him a whiff of real wealth —then watch him take off like a mad fool. The stories of how people make and lose money are, to a great extent, the chronicle of our times. Often, enormous greed and pretension. Sometimes rare courage and idealism. **The Capitalist Reporter** covers: The Rise and Decline of Grove Press; Cashing in on Christ; The Etiquette of Bribery; Making Money Off Mao?; Jerome Hoffman's $100 million—Easy Come, Easy Go; Going into Partnership with Mafia, Inc.; Insurgency Tactics for an Annual Meeting; etc.

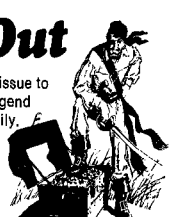
Treasure

Invest *intelligently* in art, antiques, precious stones, etc. They keep rising in value through good times & bad, inflation & recession—sometimes by nearly 100% a year. You learn of prime areas of investment: e.g. galloping value of antique watches...undervalued historical autographs (George Washington handwriting about $200) ...coming boom in European arms & armor (an antique dagger about $12)...dazzling coin/stamp/rare book investments...precious stones at free market places...antique chamber pots (take a *close* look at your old soup tureen)...etc.

Opportunity

Why do most businesses fold within a year or two? Mostly, a lack of know-how—tricks-of-the-trade you only gain from experience. If you dream of starting your own thing, **The Capitalist Reporter** can help: (1) We look for the ideas whose times have come. New concepts at the start of their climb. Business opportunities you can enter on the ground floor—often with under $2000 capital. (Usually, starting in your spare time—without giving up the security of your present job.) (2) We back up our information with actual case histories. From these people—who are actually making it—you learn the techniques & shortcuts that make the difference between success & failure. Profit from their experience!

Far Out



Something in every issue to make you a living legend within your own family. e.g. Suppose you crave a race horse. (Fool!) *How* do you buy...find the best prices? Picking a trainer? (How can *he* give *you* a memorable shafting?) Cost of maintaining your beast? Entering him in races? Stud fees? Sex handicaps? Race track shady practices? Suppose your hayburner develops arthritis. Then what??!! Also—Investing in Broadway shows; Hunting for Blackbeard's treasure; Buying your own authentic ghost town.

Insider

Imagine you own stock in a company. And you learn that several of the officers & principals are selling off a substantial portion of their shares. Wouldn't you ask, "WHY?" Perhaps you, too, should jump clear—they might know something you don't. (It would be equally significant, naturally, if they are buying *into* the company.) **The Capitalist Reporter** brings you late news of key insider trading. Draw your own conclusions. Just remember: Watch what they do —not what they say.

Japan

New products, processes, *rock-solid currency, galloping* GNP—how can *you* profit from Japan's booming prosperity? Each month, **The Capitalist Reporter** examines our busy little friends across the ocean—*with information that makes you money:* Stock market news (how about playing the incredible Tokyo market?)...new product information (long before they appear in the U.S.)...and other invaluable Nipponalia. Most Americans are appallingly ignorant about Japanese business—and you can't make money from something you know little about. This information is worth money in the bank.

Nostalgia

American treasures are all around you—attic, church bazaar, house-wrecking yards, thrift shops, etc. Old bottles, obsolete fishing lures, pre-war comics, vintage railroad timetables, auto repair manuals, posters (war, movies, advertising), telephone insulators, stuffed birds, old children's books, etc. Their value? $5, $10, even $100 and more. Americana/memorabilia soars in value as much as 200% a year. We give authoritative, up-to-date information on hundreds upon *hundreds* of specifics to be found in every town in America: Where to look...what to pay...hot new items...how to *anticipate* future trends... names & addresses of people who buy *everything,* from old mousetraps to dirigibles to used electric chairs. We'll even show you how to conduct garage sales—make $200 to $300 a week in your spare time.

Bargains

How to obtain free traveller's checks ($100 buys $100)...factory-fresh clothing & merchandise for a small fraction of list price... pick up name-brand furniture & appliances *wholesale...free* government services...and government surplus for a few pennies on the dollar (a jeep? your own Sherman tank?)... insurance for ⅓ of what you are now probably paying...launch suits and register companies all by yourself (save vast legal fees)... ...etc. Original material!

©1971 The Capitalist Reporter Inc.
150 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. 10011

FREE SAMPLE ISSUE!

901108

THE Capitalist Reporter INC.

Subscription Dept., 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011

Send me a complimentary issue of *The Capitalist Reporter.* If your magazine is as great as you say it is, I will subscribe for the time indicated, and pay upon receipt of your bill. On the other hand, if I'm not totally delighted, I will return your invoice marked "cancel", and owe nothing.

☐ 1 Year Subscription—$9.00 (12 issues)

☐ 3 years for the price of two —$18.00 (36 issues)

MY NAME_____

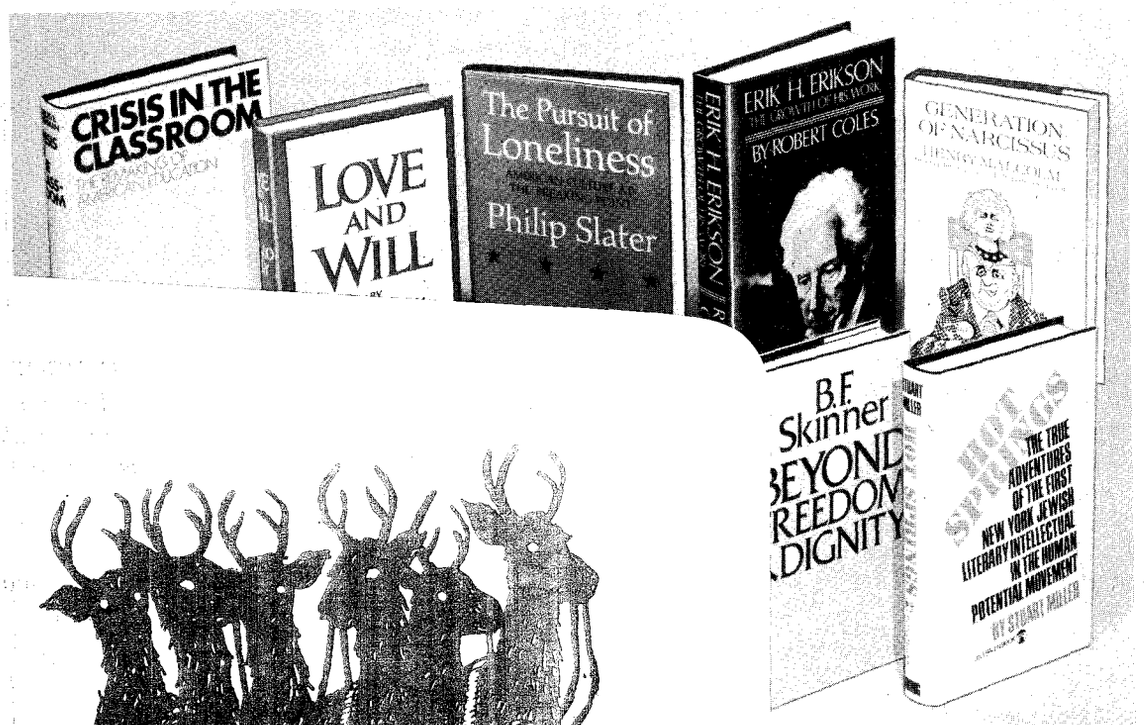
ADDRESS_____

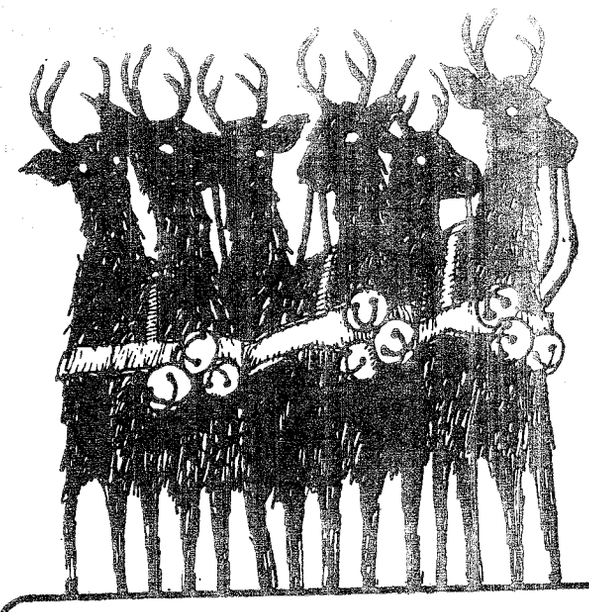
CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

☐ *I prefer to pay now and enclose a check/money order for the amount shown above. (Thank you! Besides your first free copy, we'll add two extra free issues to your subscription for saving us bill expenses. Full money-back guarantee, naturally.)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOIN US...
you may never be the same again.


CRISIS IN THE CLASSROOM
LOVE AND WILL
The Pursuit of Loneliness
Philip Slater
ERIK H. ERIKSON
BY ROBERT COLES
GENERATION OF NARCISSUS
B.F. Skinner
BEYOND FREEDOM & DIGNITY
HOT SPRINGS
THE TRUE ADVENTURES OF THE FIRST NEW YORK JEWISH LITERARY INTELLECTUAL IN THE HUMAN POTENTIAL MOVEMENT
BY STUART MILLER



GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS!!

H. Erik- owth of Robert Publish- 10.00.

eyond **d Dig-** Skinner. s price

01702. **Generation of Narcissus,** Henry Malcolm. Publisher's price $6.95.

01700. **Hot Springs:** The True Adventures of the First New York Jewish Literary Intellectual in the Human Potential Movement, Stuart Miller. Publisher's price $7.95.

01631. **A Rap on Race,** Margaret Mead and James Baldwin. Publisher's price $6.95.

01661. **The Living Clocks,** Ritchie R. Ward. Publisher's price $8.95.

01786. **The Lively Commerce:** Prostitution in the United States, Charles Winick and Paul M. Kinsei. Publisher's price $8.95.

01592. **The Politics of Therapy,** Seymour Halleck. Publisher's price $10.00.

01448. **Man and Memory,** Daniel S. Halacy, Jr. Publisher's price $7.95.

01625. **The Relevance of Education,** Jerome Bruner; and **The Soft Revolution,** Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner. (These two count as one book.) Publisher's price $10.90.

00021. **The Lüscher Color Test,** Dr. Max Lüscher. Publisher's price $6.95.

01408. **The Sexual Bond,** François Duyckaerts. Publisher's price $6.95.

01405. **The Psychology of Children's Art,** Rhoda Kellogg and Scott O'Dell. Publisher's price $13.95.

01424. **The Human Animal:** The History of Man's Behavior, Hans Hass. Publisher's price $6.95.

01365. **Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child,** Jean Piaget. Publisher's price $7.50.

01429. **Man Adapting,** Réne Dubos. Publisher's price $12.50.

01630. **Don't Shoot — — We Are Your Children!** J. Anthony Lukas. Publisher's price $8.95.

01471. **The Third Force:** The Psychology of Abraham Maslow, Frank Goble. Publisher's price $7.95.

ok Club
or **for $3.95**

...you are and what you ...offering you the ones you want at special savings ranging up to 30% (40% on more expensive volumes).

You begin by selecting 3 books for only $3.95 (values to $41.45) as your introduction to membership. If you are not delighted with your introductory selections, you may return them in 10 days to cancel membership. Or if you continue, your only obligation will be to accept just three additional selections or alternates during the next 12 months at Club savings.

There is no obligation to purchase any particular selection. All books offered will be described to you in advance each month. You'll never have to accept a book you don't want. You simply indicate your decision on the convenient form always provided and return it by the date specified. If you want the main selection, you need do nothing. You will receive it automatically.

Why not join the book club that can change your whole life? To receive your 3 books all for $3.95, send no money now. Just fill out and mail the attached order form today.

psychology today book club

P.O. Box 178, 400 Community Drive, Manhasset, N.Y. 11030

Send me the three selections whose numbers I have printed in the boxes. Bill me only $3.95 and enroll me as a member of the Psychology Today Book Club. New selections will be described to me in advance each month. I need never accept a book I do not want. My only obligation is to accept three additional selections or alternates during the next year at savings of up to 40%. My membership is cancelable after purchasing these three selections. (A postage and handling charge is added to all shipments.) Guarantee: if not delighted with your introductory selections, you may return them in 10 days to cancel membership. There will be no obligation on your part.

Name.....
(please print)

Address.....

City.....State.....Zip.....

Important. Orders accepted only from continental U.S., Hawaii and Alaska.

480

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage at Washington, D.C. and a additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

English History

A SURVEY

By **SIR GEORGE CLARK.** "This is the work of a master, with all the illuminating insights and wisdom from a lifetime's practical experience and reflection." – A. L. ROWSE, *Sunday Telegraph* (London). *15 maps.* $10.00

A Discovery of Cinema

By **THOROLD DICKINSON.** A unique and seasoned overview of the film's development as an international art medium, technology, and industry – from 1895 to 1970. "Delightfully fresh and original. . . . a joy to come upon." – H. G. WEINBERG, *Take One.*

More than 140 photographs. $8.50

Toward a Critical Sociology

By **NORMAN BIRNBAUM.** Fusing analysis and theoretical reflection, the essays in this volume express a generation's struggle to wrest from the past and send onward a theory of society imbued with historicity and rigorous thought. "Rarely has so much of importance been said so well."

– ALVIN W. GOULDNER, *Washington University* $10.95

Children in Urban Society

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

By **JOSEPH M. HAWES.** Urban delinquency as Americans of the last century saw it, and society's attempts to cope with this persistent problem. *(Urban Life in America series.)* $8.50

This Sacred Trust

AMERICAN NATIONALITY, 1798-1898

By **PAUL C. NAGEL.** This vivid portrait of 19th-century America – a timely contribution to current re-examination of values – explores the growth of nationalism in its social, cultural and political implications. $9.50

A Reading of Stephen Crane

By **MARSTON LA FRANCE.** "Brilliant, perceptive, and most important. . . . At last someone has cut through the accumulated errors of 'received critical doctrine' and revealed what Crane was really doing."

– WILL C. JUMPER, *Iowa State University* $9.50

Blindness and Insight

ESSAYS IN THE RHETORIC OF CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM

By **PAUL DE MAN.** These nine interpretive essays discuss recurrent patterns in contemporary European criticism, with emphasis on such writers as Ludwig Binswanger, Georges Poulet, Georg Lukács, and Jacques Derrida. $6.95

The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman

Edited by **PHILLIPS P. MOULTON.** The first accurate edition of the Quaker minister's works. "I find more wisdom [in Woolman's] pages than in any other book written since the days of the apostles." – RALPH WALDO EMERSON. "A superb edition of the *Journal* and three other essays."

– DR. EDWIN B. BRONNER $10.50

Literary Style

A SYMPOSIUM

Edited by **SEYMOUR CHATMAN.** "A very impressive collection of essays on stylistics [that] conveys in a remarkable way some of the most exciting recent thinking on the subject with a solid report of what we have so far accomplished." – MORTON W. BLOOMFIELD, *Harvard University*

Cloth, $12.50. *Paper,* $3.50

Surviving the Future

By **ARNOLD TOYNBEE.** Speaking directly to young people, Mr. Toynbee gives his views on the world's most pressing problems, and on how a knowledge of the past can be a guide to the future. $5.95

The Oxford Book of Invertebrates

By **DAVID NICHOLS** *and* **JOHN COOKE,** *illustrated by* **DEREK WHITELEY.** More than 600 of the common large invertebrates – animals without backbones – drawn from life in magnificent color and detail and described in an adjacent text. *96 full-color plates.* $11.00

The Speaking Tree

A STUDY OF INDIAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

By **RICHARD LANNOY.** India's artistic and social development, its inherent qualities and way of life, its achievements through the ages, and its current dilemmas are thoroughly explored in this wide-ranging book. *24 halftones.* $15.00

At all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

14 brilliant reasons why you should read INTELLECTUAL DIGEST

1. **A biochemist explains how a virus may be used to cure diabetes.** (American Scientist)
2. **Betty Friedan tells why she's worried about the latest trend in the women's liberation movement.** (Social Policy)
3. **A noted anthropologist explains how "dummies" are being used to probe the innate behavior of man.** (New Society)
4. **Susan Sontag talks about the effect of wide-open pornography on the Swedish society.** (Ramparts)
5. **A psychologist analyzes why we win *or* lose at poker.** (Trans-action)
6. **Paul Goodman dissects the failure of mass higher education in America.** (New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative)
7. **Two leading genetics authorities discuss the future of egg transplantation . . . and test-tube babies.** (Science Journal)
8. **Aldous Huxley describes his early experimentation with drugs.** (Letters of Aldous Huxley)
9. **Two leading physicists talk about "black holes" in space with the power to obliterate matter.** (Physics Today)
10. **Kenneth Clark tells why he opposes black studies programs.** (Antioch Review)
11. **An observer explains why the Soviet worker is more concerned with materialism than with civil rights.** (The New Leader)
12. **What happened every Saturday night at Rue de Fleurus . . . the home of Gertrude Stein.** (Art In America)
13. **Gore Vidal talks candidly about Mailer, Kerouac, Hesse and Gide.** (Partisan Review)
14. **A pioneer aerobiologist explains how clouds may be used to reduce the pollutants in our atmosphere.** (Natural History)

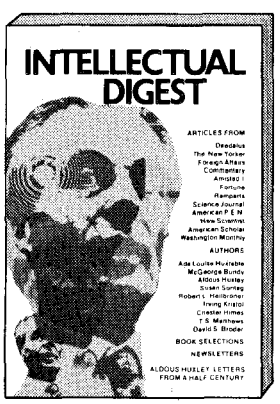
From literary magazines. Professional magazines. Political publications. Scientific journals. The freshest ideas from over 300 brilliant magazines—now reprinted in a single new periodical.

There has never been a magazine like INTELLECTUAL DIGEST before. Our editors read the most significant magazines and journals in the world, and select the articles most important to the thinking layman. INTELLECTUAL DIGEST culls from all fields: science, sociology, literature, politics, art, medicine, history, even zoology. Our only requirement is that every article be thought-provoking, important, informative—and *lively*.

Many articles are published in full. And when we do "digest," we do so only by editing in collaboration with the author. Thus the integrity—even the complexity—of the original is retained.

In addition, three newsletters in each issue keep you up to the minute on the major disciplines of the social sciences, sciences and arts. Outstanding non-fiction books are excerpted, too—many before publication. (A few recent examples: Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics,* Charles E. Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom,* Paul Goodman's *New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative.)*

Doesn't this sound like the kind of magazine you would like to read? You can try an issue of INTELLECTUAL DIGEST without cost or obligation. Just mail the coupon and a complimentary issue — with over 15 articles from 15 publications—will be sent to you.



INTELLECTUAL DIGEST
P.O. Box 2986
Boulder, Colorado 80302

Please send me my complimentary issue of INTELLECTUAL DIGEST and enter my charter half-price subscription for eleven additional issues at the rate of only $5 (a total savings of 50% on the regular $10 price). I understand I may cancel within 14 days after receiving my complimentary issue if I am not fully satisfied.

☐ Bill me ☐ $5 enclosed

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Add 50¢ for Canada and $2 for Foreign. 6177

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington ®

We Can't Love Him

If Mr. Nixon is reelected in 1972 it will be the first time in history that a man was chosen because his policies didn't work. He supported the Vietnam war, now he is hailed for deescalation; he deplored "too much managing of the economy," now he has a popular wage-price freeze; he advocated an economic game plan that was such an obvious flop that he brought a near-unanimous sigh of relief when he did a 180-degree Immelmann turn; and again, for 10 years he consistently and ardently opposed dealings with China, now he pleases nearly everybody by saying, in effect, that his previous policy was folly and that he is going to Peking.

Even with advantages like this we still think Mr. Nixon extremely vulnerable. It is time to think about the prospect and a good place to start is with the two-party system. This strange method of picking the most powerful man on earth is calculated to give the greatest dissatisfaction to the largest number. A two-party system is a structured compromise; it means a battle between two unstable coalitions each seeking the center. It is terribly frustrating to true believers. This is particularly true of the opposition party, in this case the Democrats. They must pick the Nixon adversary. But rival candidates face two constituencies, one for the nomination, one for the election and they are different and to a degree antagonistic. The Democratic convention next year may be the most untrammeled in history. The activists will have more power in the convention than in the electorate at large. For example, the black vote represents only seven to eight percent nationally but it is apt to be much higher among Democratic convention delegates. The conservative Republicans in 1964 just loved Goldwater, nominated him, and got clobbered. The temptation to pick an all-out opponent to Mr. Nixon from the left is powerful and understandable but probably it will be curbed by the even greater desire to get a winner.

Sometime after the conventions a derogatory article will appear in some liberal periodical: "Nixon and Muskie (or any name you want to insert) – Tweedledum and Tweedledee." It will argue that there's no difference between them, so why waste your vote. It will be cynical and smart. We have one in our file from 1968 shrugging off Nixon and Humphrey as exactly alike. What drivel. Would Humphrey have nominated Haynsworth and Carswell? Would he have waited till southern school boards were finally facing up to the reality of a unanimous Supreme Court busing decision to issue a statement saying that he opposed busing and would only give the Court's decision minimum enforcement? Of course he wouldn't, and of couse there was a big difference between the two candidates.

Today the nation is tortured almost beyond endurance by unsolved problems. As rarely in history, it suffers a deep spiritual fatigue. Our political institutions seem incapable of doing what must be done; we need social reforms that are almost revolutionary, and yet confidence in government and business leadership sags.

The two-party system is a clumsy vehicle in such stress. We expect there will actually be three or four parties: George Wallace is certain to run and, on the other side, our liberal friends are searching around for a second Eugene McCarthy to throw away their votes on and help Mr. Nixon get reelected. Nothing has been done to abolish the absurd electoral college and it will serve us right if the contest is thrown into the House in an un-election. (As a newspaperman this would be fun to cover but it would be a tragic blow to democracy.)

Our guess is that Mr. Nixon is extremely vulnerable. In a way it is unfair. He made a heroic rise from apparent oblivion in 1960. He won in 1968 by an eyelash, never got a mandate, and has always had an opposition Congress. The "Emerging Conservative Majority" in 1970 never emerged. He tried to fashion an invincible majority by putting together the Wallace supporters and his own followers in the Southern Strategy but it was a failure.

A lot of people think Mr. Nixon will get reelected if he makes peace and restores prosperity, but this is relative. Detestation of the war is such that getting out of Vietnam hardly seems to merit much gratitude anymore, and the Thieu election fiasco only underlines the point. As to the economy Mr. Nixon isn't out of the woods yet, though we have a private feeling that the bottom of the recession has passed and that short of brilliant mismanagement things are going to get better. The bulk of conventional economists agree. By a year from now things may be perking up. But politically we guess that the voter who had a terrible scare for his job will not be very grateful to the Republicans.

There is, we think, a final issue: the personality of the administration. Try as we can, we find it hard to love Mr. Nixon. We find it hard to love John Mitchell. We suppose Martha does, and that's fine, but to us he is just a municipal bond salesman. Now Spiro Agnew is different. As a journalist we enjoy having him around. Anybody with the courage to say "nattering nabobs of negativism" deserves recognition. But one Spiro doesn't make a summer. Republicans don't produce colorful people – can you sort out Blount, Morton, Hardin, Stans, Hodgson? They are faceless men, and Mr. Nixon had to go to the Democrats to get John Connally. It has been a period of mediocrity.

In sum, we rather suspect this is a one-term affair, always assuming the Democrats don't slaughter each other. Perhaps we are in for a period of one-termers like that between Andrew Jackson and Lincoln when the problems of society were too big for the instruments of government and not a single President was reelected for 24 years. The country is going into a low-pressure area, not of the economy but of the spirit. It yearns for somebody to lift it up, some decent man in whose word it has faith, somebody who shows trust in the people and who gets it back again.

At breakfast here last week presidential candidate Fred Harris was asked about the mood of the country. He's been out campaigning and ought to know. "They're awfully down in the dumps," he said quietly. Pause, "There's a feeling things are falling apart." Another pause. "There's nothing around that makes them proud of their country." Many are saying that – maybe because we've had two Presidents whose words were widely suspect.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 165, No. 15, Issue 2963, October 9, 1971. Published weekly and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright 1971 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

1 – 9 Comment
Money for Men, In the Draft

10 Separate but Better – *Carl E. Meacham*

11 The Nixon Watch: On the Road – *John Osborne*

13 Is Cleanliness Next to Impossible? – *Daniel Zwerdling*

15 Hugo L. Black – *John P. Frank*

17 The Beetles – *George Lardner*

19 Missile Myths – II: Upgrading Soviet SAM – *Herbert Scoville,Jr.*

21 Vietnam Amnesty: A Proposal to the President – *James Reston, Jr.*

23 The Liberal Capitulation – *Robert Griffith*

24 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

25 Books – Reviews by *Arnold Kettle, John J. Fried*

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors –
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Staff Writers – Eliot Marshall, Daniel Zwerdling
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Money for Men

regimental combat team and suggest GVN request such a force." Taylor, somewhat startled by the rapidity of Washington's buildup and introduction of foreign troops, replied that, it was "not going to be easy to get ready concurrence for the large-scale introduction of foreign troops unless the need is clear and explicit." But with American support contingent upon acceptance of Korean and other foreign troops, Saigon had no choice but to acquiesce and request aid from its newfound "allies." President Johnson had been elected on a campaign promise that Asian boys would fight Asian battles, and he needed Korean infantrymen to keep at least half his word. The foraging for troops was frantic, the administration claiming at one point that 31 nations were "aiding" the war effort, though "about half of these had each contributed services or materials amounting to $26,000 or less over a two-year period," the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported in 1966.

By conventional standards, South Korea seemed in poor condition to provide military forces to anyone. Year after year, Korean delegations to Washington had talked up the danger from North Korea in their successful appeals for more military and economic aid. By 1965, approximately 50,000 American soldiers were stationed in Korea, including two infantry divisions, one positioned on the Demilitarized Zone directly in the path of any attack. A country so beseiged, so dependent upon foreign assistance would appear an unlikely source of military supply for Vietnam. (Critics later wondered why, if South Korea was strong enough to send forces overseas, US troops were still needed in Korea?)

The US-ROK negotiations in April-June, 1965 were kept completely secret from the American and Korean people. A joint communique issued by Presidents Johnson and Park Chung Hee on May 18, 1965 stated only that they had "reviewed the current situation in the Far East and Southeast Asia and agreed upon the need for making secure the freedom and independence of the countries of the area. They affirmed that the free nations should further strengthen their solidarity and cooperation to advance the cause of peace and progress under freedom." Behind this smokescreen swift agreement was reached. Renegotiated in February 1966, with the participation of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vice President Humphrey, the terms included: US payment for all costs of the Korean intervention in Vietnam; US payment of a special overseas allowance to ROK troops (a bonus of nearly 30 times the normal salary for lower enlisted grades, somewhat lower for officer ranks); modernization of ROK armed forces (an open-ended promise); suspension of normal Military Assistance Program (MAP) procedures in Korea "as long as there are substantial Republic of Korea forces in the Republic of Vietnam" (the suspension permits modernization funds to be diverted elsewhere, thus requiring the US to pay twice for modernization); "expanded opportunities" to Korean contractors to participate in various US construction projects in Vietnam; $15 million in loans to expand South Korean exports to Vietnam and procurement of war materials in South Korea; additional AID loans and technical assistance. As William Porter, former ambassador to Korea and now chief US negotiator at the Paris talks, said last year: "The Koreans felt it only reasonable that if they were sending men in large numbers to fight in Vietnam, they should be allowed to share in markets created by the war . . . to participate in the opportunites as well as the risks."

High security classification hides the full, staggering price the US has paid for the Korean expeditionary force, but partial figures released at Senate insistence in early 1970 provide some indication. For the first three-and-a-half years, 1965 to 1969, the US put up almost a billion dollars ($927.5 million). This did not include the cost of transportation to Vietnam, or the diversions of MAP and other funds amounting to $11.8 million, or the logistical and operational costs of the South Korean forces in Vietnam. The US government admits to payments of $238.2 million in fiscal '70 and $217.9 million in fiscal '71. The total cost of the Korean troops, however, is now conservatively estimated at $2.5 billion. On top of that are the indirect costs: in fiscal year 1971, the US provided South Korea with $378 million in military assistance; for fiscal year 1972, military and economic aid will be $294.3 million, with South Korea getting the largest amount of military assistance of any country except South Vietnam.

The most controversial element of the various US financial inducements is the special overseas allowances. Since 1965, close to three-quarters of a billion dollars have been paid for troop salaries. Senator Fulbright has released 1965 correspondence which shows that the South Korean Army needed special bonus payments to insure enough "volunteers," and that the US Army attempted to keep these payments secret, fearing that the price for Thai and Filipino troops might rise, or that Congress would find out about the bonuses and stop them.

But charges of "mercenary" miss the full tragedy of South Korean intervention. Colonel Oran Henderson was under court-martial last week accused of "not reporting actual or suspected war crimes." Yet senior White House, Defense and State Department officials are concealing reports of atrocities committed by Korean troops on a scale far greater than Mylai. The first publicized accounts are from Phuyen province in 1966: when South Korean troops were fired upon from a village, they assembled the villagers and immediately executed every tenth person, man, woman or child; hundreds were reported killed. The American researcher who originally reported the atrocities to US authorities, A. Terry Rambo, said that, "For the Koreans this was a deliberate, systematic policy." US Army officers ordered him to delete the Korean atrocity evidence from his official report.

Other examples from the grisly record: the murder of civilians in Quangnam province in February and April 1969; the slaughter of "hundreds" of villagers in attacks on the coastal Barrier Island near Hoian; the killing of "as many as 100 civilians at a village south of Da Nang" in September, 1970; the mutilation of captured North Vietnamese nurses during operation *Meade River;* the annihilation of entire villages in "Lidice"-style terror operations in Quong Sin to force evacuation of the peasantry. Suggestive of the pattern and scope of the South Korean tactics are the comments of American army officers who praise the Korean troops for "not fooling around with the Vietnamese." In 1966 an officer told Richard Dudman of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that the Koreans "go through an area and kill everything in sight." Jonathan Schell, in *The Village of Ben Suc,* quotes a US captain as saying, "Now, take the Koreans – they've got the Asian mind, and they really get excellent results here. Of course, we believe that that's not the best way to operate . . . ." On the contrary, the Pentagon is getting just what it has wanted, and it is paying for it.

The US government sees no evil, hears no evil, and rejects all requests for information about the Korean expeditionary force. When queried about allegations of Korean atrocities on "Face the Nation" January 11, 1970, Secretary Laird said: "The South Korean forces, of course, are not a responsibility of General Abrams. We do not have a unified command in Vietnam. Some people have suggested a unified command, but we do not have a unified command. And this is a matter that would have to be handled by the South Vietnamese government in connection with the Korean government. General Abrams does not have the responsibility for this. This is a matter that would have to be looked into by the South Vietnamese government in connection with the Korean government."

Laird's explanation raises the half-truth to an art form. Of course there isn't a unified command, but the US recruited the Koreans, transported them to Vietnam, funds all their operations, provides special bonuses, directs their operations – and chooses not to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publicize the consequences. The Defense Department refused to provide the Senate Subcommittee on Escapees and Refugees with a 1967 report entitled "Korean Marine Behaviour Toward Vietnamese Civilians in Phuyen Province," which describes the massacres. Nor will DOD state how many casualties the Koreans have inflicted on the enemy or what civic action projects the Koreans are conducting. Information routinely announced about US-ARVN and enemy casualties is classified regarding Koreans; The Pentagon directs inquiries to the military attache at the ROK embassy.

Who is responsible for the South Korean and other foreign troops? With the US Army shattered by Vietnam and the American people unwilling to fight another such undeclared war, the State and Defense Departments may be forced to rely on foreign troops. Indeed, what is the Nixon Doctrine if it is not that? Consider the enormous arsenal of inducements used in Vietnam and available for the future: the military advisory program, training junkets to the US for foreign officers, MAP funds, armament modernization, AID loans and services, trade benefits, promises of security guarnatees. By covert shifting of funds from one program to another, the DOD can keep Congress in the dark for years, perhaps until the next little war is well on its way. If accountability for foreign troops is not fixed and their use not curtailed, a new generation of young people will discover that foreign troops, including the CIA's various foreign legions, are the international analogue of the recruiting of American blacks and the poor for the Indochina War.

What is the South Korean role in US Vietnam strategy? All other US "allies" have begun or completed withdrawal of their troops. The Australians will be out of Vietnam by December. In contrast, South Korea has announced only token withdrawals: one or two brigades to be removed by February, 1972. More than 40,000 men, including two crack infantry divisions, will continue operations in Vietnam. American planning requires a reliable infantry force to buttress its air and artillery units and the doubtful ARVN. As Phase II of the US withdrawal ends in June 1972, the ROK troops will probably become part of a US-"allied" residual force. South Korea has ample reason to keep troops in Vietnam: the ROK Army is kept busy and out of politics at home, commercial advantages continue and, perhaps most compelling, the benefits of the 1966 agreement will be enjoyed as long as South Korea has "substantial forces" in Indochina.

For two-and-a-half years the Nixon administration has hinted at a "Korean Solution" to the war, in apparent reference to the arrangement that ended the Korean War. Now the true meaning of the phrase emerges: the semipermanent use of ROK troops in Vietnam as surrogates for the US Army which, all thoughts of victory and honor gone, wants only to come home.

In the Draft

Despite the publicity given withdrawal deadlines and talk of "phase two Vietnamization," the Army is still relying heavily on conscripted men to fight the war. Probably more than one-third of the fresh troops being sent to Vietnam – about 4300 a month – are draftees. If the present rate of withdrawal is not soon increased, we could be sending draftees to Vietnam for another year. Make no mistake, the Defense Department heaved a sigh of relief when Congress came back from its recess and passed new draft authorization.

Under this bill, which takes effect near the end of October, college freshmen will be liable to immediate induction like everyone else in this year's 19-year-old lottery class. Many who come under the 1971 predicted cut-off number (140) will be snatched from classes this winter for military service. The new regulations, which generally make it harder to beat the draft through procedural maneuverings, are designed to coordinate the branches of the Selective Service System into a more coherent national program.

Draft calls will follow lottery numbers on a nationwide basis from now on, so that no local board will be calling higher numbers than another. The retirement age for local board members has been lowered from 70 to 65 years, and the minimum eligibility from 25 to 19 years. The new law says that future local board appointments should reflect the racial and religious make-up of the area.

The new draft will fall evenly on all students, those in divinity school, high school and college. High school students are liable to induction when they drop out, graduate, or reach 20 (unless they're in the senior class and ready to graduate anyway). College students who already have deferments for 1970-71 will continue to be deferred until they drop out, graduate, or reach 24. Those who receive notice of induction will be allowed to finish the term, or in the case of seniors, the academic year. Divinity students, who were formerly exempt from military service, will now be granted deferments up to their 35th birthday. Before then, they will be draftable if they drop their studies before being ordained. Men who avoid registering at 18 will no longer be protected by a six-year statute of limitations after their 24th birthday; they can be prosecuted up to their 31st.

These parts of the bill were meant to tighten loopholes that some congressmen believed were encouraging draft-dodging. But in at least two areas, the law has become more lenient. Largely under pressure from Senator Edward Kennedy (D, Mass.), Congress approved expansion of the right to appeal one's classification. Local boards will be required to meet in quorum and hear the appeal of any registrant who wants to make a personal appearance. Further, they must allow him to bring witnesses to speak in his behalf, and they must give, on request, a written explana-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of their ruling if it goes against the registrant's claim. Another provision will exempt from service any man who has lost an immediate relative on military duty since December 31, 1959.

Procedures for obtaining a conscientious objector classification have not been greatly affected. Boards will still look to see whether applicants are opposed to all wars, and whether their pacifist beliefs "occupy the same place in the life of the objector as an orthodox belief in God holds in the life of one clearly qualified for exemption." The primary consideration is the applicant's sincerity. A Selective Service information officer says that under the new CO plan an objector who "hustles" to arrange a suitable alternate job for himself will be more likely to get what he wants than a man who waits for the government to assign him something. All COs will serve a two-year term under the authority of the Selective Service Director.

Separate but Better

Colleges and universities are having to dip into their endowments for operating funds; a number of them are cutting faculties and courses. Most of the nation's predominantly black schools have never known anything different. Some educators have said outright that there are too many black institutions; that these institutions must henceforth compete for black students and money from the federal government and foundations *on merit*, and not merely by virtue of their being black and disadvantaged, scares many black educators. It is quite possible that a majority of the 120 or so predominantly black schools of higher learning won't survive another decade. So black educators have good reason to be scared.

Now, black colleges are not altogether the educational wastelands they are made out to be. Moreover, their value must be judged not only by their educational value, but also in terms of their historical significance, their place in the development of American society and their special role in black communities.

For three years, I was employed at a small, black junior college in the South, for two years as an administrator. I resigned this June. During those years, I thought a great deal about black colleges and what black people must do to justify their survival. Without these colleges, it is very doubtful whether we would have as many educated blacks as we do today; institutions which have served the needs of such a huge minority cannot be thrown aside. Obviously, the general desegregation of schools has caused black students to forsake black colleges.

Yet black colleges are social as well as educational communites. Even black students who attend predominantly white colleges seek their social life at nearby predominantly black schools. I often heard black students who came to social events at my former college say, "You can't let loose with a lot of whites around. They think you are animals or sex fiends." Their overwhelming feeling was that whites, though tolerant of desegregated classrooms, do not entirely welcome interracial socializing. Unquestionably, black colleges serve as cultural centers. Facilities for community meetings, sporting events, conferences, and rallies of all sorts are provided free or at a minimal charge. Without these colleges, local black residents in many communities would be more restricted in their activities and do without services most whites take for granted.

In addition, professional blacks who have been shut out of the mainstream *must* look to black colleges for jobs. Only the federal government and the public school systems employ more black professionals. Some of the most brilliant blacks in the country today work in black institutions. In a sense, black colleges are like black churches. For the most part, they are controlled by blacks, and any such organization or institution offers a psychological lift to blacks. With the desegregation of black high schools in the South, we have seen black principals lose their jobs (suddenly they became "disqualified") and that is something the black college administrators should not have to experience. More and more, black schools are becoming centers for the study of black life. Here, Howard University is probably light years ahead of the other schools. An oral history program at my former college is an ambitious attempt to correct a number of distortions and omissions concerning the role of blacks in the development of the region in which it is located.

Black colleges have taken on more importance as blacks search for identity and demand that institutions mainly serving blacks be controlled by them. But control by blacks, in my book, does not mean mediocrity. That is why I suggest that before black colleges can begin to meet their responsibilities, they must take stock of their imperfections and do something about them. Let me be specific: Black administrators, especially college presidents, must stop running their schools as they would their homes. The dictatorial manner has caused many a good teacher to look elsewhere for employment. At my former college, the president consulted his executive council, of which I was a member, on matters he had already decided, and tended to reject all countersuggestions.

Blacks have done a very poor job of supporting black colleges. Lavish parties are given in Hilton and Sheraton Hotels; the Masons and Elks, I suspect, are not in debt; black churches survive come what may; black entertainers and lecturers frequently don't consider the financial condition of black colleges when their services are requested. One of my jobs as dean was to recruit outside talent: I was appalled more than once when one of the "brothers" forgot that we were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not Harvard. I did not ask for free service, but for fees appropriate to a poor college.

Black colleges are far too class-oriented. There is a pervasive feeling that because you are an instructor or administrator, you have some special gift from the Almighty, and if I am not in your "class," you cannot associate with me. The pecking order at my college was something like this: administrators, senior faculty, junior faculty, staff personnel (especially secretaries), attractive female students who dated faculty and staff males, other students, maintenance and custodial. This structure applied to blacks only; whites, of course, were not considered, or rather were all considered in the same class. The idea that all blacks should be working together for common goals was ignored.

Most black teachers lack tenure or any assurance that they won't be dismissed or not have their contracts renewed if they disagree too sharply with the administrators. Consequently, good teachers, black and white, who were too aggressive have been quietly let out.

For the most part, black institutions are conservative. Many of my former colleagues actually thought that education ought to be confined to classrooms. Experimental programs were suspect; excuses were always made that such programs were geared to a lesser intelligence than theirs. They might have been right, but very often they did not care to test their assumption. In any attempt to relax student regulations, the double standard was applied in order to discourage any relaxation: "Students have to be controlled," or "Do as I say but not as I do."

Most black institutions will admit that the secondary education of the majority of their students was poor. But when these students arrive on campus, they find an academic program that is way above their heads. It is forgotten that many of these students cannot read or write well enough to pursue the education they have come to college to get. It is not unusual to find black college graduates who cannot read or write decent paragraphs. Many black institutions have not been willing to accept their own responsibility for this incompetence or devise remedies to correct it. Indeed, for many black institutions, reputation and appearances are more important than education. Plush dormitories and student centers take precedence over the library, or recruiting able, dedicated teachers. A good football or basketball team is more highly prized than a good group of English students.

The imperfections of black colleges are not irremediable. Their hardest task at the moment is to raise money. But they can't expect the money to roll in, just as they can't expect black students to enroll – just because they are black. Concerned black educators must *work*, or this country's black colleges will die right before their eyes.

Carl E. Meacham

The Nixon Watch

On The Road

Here are some glimpses and impressions of Mr. Nixon as he showed himself on September 25 and 26, accepting the obeisance of Walter Hickel and meeting the Emperor of Japan in Alaska and, on the way there, playing the part of a busy and happy President and candidate for reelection next year in the states of Montana, Oregon and Washington. He seemed to me to be variously at his inane worst and his gracious best. According to his spokesmen, he seemed to himself to be at his best throughout the expedition. They said that he was "well satisfied" with the whole performance when, after a long flight home on the third day, he and Mrs. Nixon choppered from Andrews Air Force Base to the White House, changed into dinner clothes, and went off to a sumptuous and slightly premature celebration of Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower's 75th birthday.

The first step at Kalispell, Montana, was said to have been at the urging of Mike Mansfield, the Democratic leader in the Senate, who presumably figured that an appearance with the President would do him and the state's Democratic Party as much good as it would do Mr. Nixon and the Republicans. Kalispell is a small town in the northwest corner of the state, near the Canadian border and Glacier National Park and also near Libby Dam, a $482-million project that, when completed, will be part of the US and Canadian Columbia River power and water-control system. At Kalispell's airport, for the benefit of some 5000 rural Montanans, Mr. Nixon briskly saluted the statesmanship and national importance of Senator Mansfield, the beauty of the surrounding "Big Sky Country," his own efforts to achieve "a generation of peace" with his policy of withdrawal from Vietnam, the imminent honor to Emperor Hirohito, and a forthcoming visit to Communist China. The latter event, he took care to say at Kalispell and at every subsequent stop, was surely going to occur "at a later time" despite the current and mystifying signs of disturbance in the Peking leadership.

At Libby Dam, after a chopper ride over the mountains and forests of the Glacier area, Mr. Nixon forewent his usual pleasure in arranging groups for the press photographers and let Senator Mansfield pose state and local dignitaries with the President. He walked up to five workers, all of whom were wearing hard hats, and asked, "Do you wear hard hats?" Back at Kalispell, he indicated that he had noted from his helicopter "the blotches on the landscape" caused by timber cutting and said with balanced earnestness that "what we need is a balance of course – a balance in terms of preserving and conserving the environment but at the same time of allowing the development of course of the lumber industry." He also said that he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wanted to see lots of trailer parks installed in the wilds so that "people of modest means" can "go to these beautiful places." He recalled with approval the trailers "lined up by the hundreds" in a state park near his California home at San Clemente. A reporter asked, "Will that not destroy the scenery in the area, Mr. President?" Nixon answered: "No. The way they've set up the trailer parks, if you take San Clemente's example – it's done in a beautiful way. It's set up so that it looks just like a motel. You have it contoured properly and it's done in the proper way. And as far as the scenery is concerned, scenery is great but it isn't any good if people can't use it."

Aloft again and enroute to Portland, Oregon, Mr. Nixon announced that he was about to intervene personally, for the first time in his presidency, in a labor dispute. After a session in his Portland hotel suite with Harry Bridges, leader of striking longshoremen who had tied up the West Coast ports, and Ed Flynn, the industry negotiator, the President claimed only that he had imparted to them "a new sense of urgency" and maybe, or maybe not, helped get the bargainers "off dead center." Western media editors and executives had assembled in Portland for a briefing on Nixon policy, foreign and domestic, by Cabinet officers and the President. Instead of boring the audience with prepared remarks, Mr. Nixon invited questions. His most interesting answer indicated that he was content with the present balance of strategic power between the US and the Soviet Union and did not share Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's alarm, expressed of late with increasing emphasis, over the growth of Soviet nuclear missile installations. A questioner quoted Mrs. Nixon's reported remark in Washington, to a group of lady journalists, that the trouble with appointing a woman to one of the two vacancies on the Supreme Court is that "the best qualified women are too old." A traveling reporter in the room said later that Mr. Nixon appeared to be extremely unhappy. He paused, cleared his throat, and said with a feeble laugh that "any politician who says a woman is too old is nuts." He ended a vague elaboration of his search for nominees who share his "general judicial philosophy" with the observation, obviously meant to be funny, that "even an old woman could have that philosophy."

Mr. Nixon made some more trouble for himself when he confided to the editors that he was going to have "a significant announcement" the next day at the Atomic Energy Commission plant and laboratories in Hanford, Washington. A statement handed to reporters during the flight from Portland to Walla Walla and Hanford amounted to nothing more than a pious expression of confidence in the future of the next generation of breeder reactors which are in an early stage of research at Hanford. A second statement, hastily composed aboard the President's plane between Portland and Walla Walla, committed Mr. Nixon to seeking money and authority to build two breeder development plants instead of the one previously contemplated. What the scientists and workers at Hanford wanted to know was whether the first plant is to be established there, instead of somewhere else, in order to arrest the recent decline of employment among them. That depends on AEC decisions yet to be made, and Mr. Nixon's press party left Hanford with a feeling that he'd have been wiser if he'd avoided the place. His only positive assertion at Hanford was that he isn't intimidated by the unsolved problems of pollution that are plaguing and delaying the development of nuclear power for industrial and other peaceful uses. "In terms of nuclear power," he said "we must not be afraid. We must explore it."

Walter Hickel, the former Secretary of Interior who was fired last year, awaited the President at Anchorage, Alaska. Hickel's book, *Who Owns America?*, had just come out. It is written in a rather smug tone of dislike, close to contempt, for the President. It reflects, to say the least, Wally Hickel's transient belief that he and not Mr. Nixon understands that the people own America and suggests that this gulf of comprehension led to their bitter parting. By mutual and prior consent, carefully nurtured by Republican Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska during months of negotiation with Nixon associates, all of that was set aside if not forgotten when Wally greeted the President on the lawn of the Hickel home. It was too clear for comfort that Mr. Nixon had been persuaded that Hickel might be useful to him in Alaska and maybe elsewhere during next year's campaign. Both men, facing the cameras and exchanging banalities ("Have you ever been in Kalispell?," Nixon said to Hickel), had the grace to seem embarrassed. So did Hickel's successor Rogers Morton, who promised to throw a party for Wally the next time he was in Washington.

That night a President of the United States and an Emperor of Japan met for the first time, on the first occasion in 2631 years that an Emperor of Japan had left his country. On September 26, 1941, Emperor Hirohito told his military chieftains that he deplored their plans for war and did not order them to abandon the plans. On September 26, 1945, the Emperor motored from his palace to the US Embassy in Tokyo and did homage to the American conqueror, General MacArthur. On this September 26, frail at 70, trembling in the Alaskan chill and at times forgetful of his cues, Hirohito accepted the courtesies of President Nixon and flew on to Europe. Mr. Nixon, a connoisseur and exploiter of historic firsts, behaved with great dignity. Watching him and the little Emperor under the lights, in a vast hangar resounding with the clatter of artillery salutes and trumpets, I was proud of the President. It was a nice though probably meaningless thing for him to do, and he did it well.

John Osborne

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is Cleanliness Next To Impossible?

Last year five government agencies, the President of the United States and ecology groups told the nation that phosphates in our detergents are killing life in the lakes and rivers. Four states, three major cities and all of Canada passed laws banning phosphate detergents from the market. Detergent manufacturers then started replacing phosphates with NTA. But toxicologists discovered *that* chemical causes fetal abnormalities and may pull poisonous metals like mercury and cadmium into the food chain. The industry introduced nonphosphate caustic soap detergents like Clean and Un-Polluter. The Food and Drug Administration seized two of them as health hazards and now may ban them completely. So when, finally, Surgeon General Jesse Steinfeld last month advised housewives to "use phosphate detergents," we'd come full circle.

Some choice! A detergent so corrosive it killed a Connecticut infant who breathed its dust, or one that contributes to the death of the waterways. And you may not be able to tell which is which, because the government doesn't require detergent manufacturers to label the ingredients. The Federal Trade Commission is considering requiring a warning on phosphate detergent boxes: "Phosphates contribute to water pollution. Do not use in excess," and an ingredient label on all detergents. But Environmental Quality Council director Russell Train told FTC officials last week that he doubts its value, for "anything less than a complex description would be misleading."

Synthetic detergents have dominated the market since the early '40s, using as many as ten different compounds working at once. Only one "active ingredient" actually cleans stains, by allowing dirt particles to mix with the water and float away in the wash. Other chemicals are added to prevent the detergent from caking and to perfume the clothes so they smell clean even if they aren't. Whiteners and brighteners don't make fabrics brighter because they've taken dirt *off*, but because they put *on* tiny chemical particles which reflect light. Detergent manufacturers put phosphates in their products to soften the water, by "tying up" trace minerals which could interfere with the washing action and leave a scum.

Industry loves phosphates. They're cheap. Enormous quantities are used, 5.5 billion pounds last year, enough to soften the hardest waters in the Southwest. But since only 27 percent of the population lives in hard-water areas, most consumers are dumping lots of phosphate in their wash for nothing. They flush the stuff down their pipes and into the sewers and into the lakes and rivers where the phosphates nourish algae which soak up the water's oxygen, virtually killing all the aquatic plants and fish. Lakes and rivers age that way naturally, but phosphates speed the aging. That is why Lake Erie has aged 15,000 years in half a century, and now can't support any life – 50 percent of it due to household phosphate detergents.

Back in 1967, then Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall said that eliminating phosphates would be "a significant and giant step forward to cleaner lakes, rivers and estuaries." Now the government "urges industry to continue research," but redirects the nation's main efforts toward treating phosphate pollution at waste plants.

When Interior officials formed a special joint government-industry task force on detergents four years ago, they selected Charles Bueltman as its chairman. Mr. Bueltman is president of the Soap and Detergent Association, the industry's top lobby group. A member of the association staff became secretary of the task force. That Bueltman was an odd choice for a committee charged with "accelerating research into the development of suitable substitutes for phosphates in detergents" seemed evident, for he had already written that phosphates should not be replaced. The task force resolved his conflict when it rejected its original goal and decided instead to study waste plant treatment. Representatives of the Federal Water Quality Administration, now part of EPA, quit the task force.

Administration officials sought other counsel from the National Industrial Pollution Control Council, which President Nixon established by executive order to advise him on environmental matters. Its special subcommittee on detergents, directed by Procter and Gamble president Howard Morgans, agreed with the detergent makers that treating sewage would be far better than "excluding products from the market." But at least 70 million Americans don't dump their waste into sewage plants but in septic tanks. If they aren't sealed properly the sewage seeps awfully fast into the nearest lake.

While government investigators roam the nation for the next 18 months looking at choked lakes and rivers, eight billion pounds more of phosphates will pour into them. Once the givernment decides where the pollution is most severe, it will take more time and money to develop and install the sewage treatment plants. Mr. Nixon's current budget requests $500 million for the job, but a congressional subcommittee has estimated that at least $600 million is needed to clean up the Lake Erie-Lake Ontario basin alone.

Even when phosphorous treatment machines finally start churning, no one will be able to guarantee they'll do the job. The most feasible methods filter only 80 percent of the phosphorous, leaving enormous mountains of chemical sludge, which most sewage plants today dump back into lakes or in the oceans. The sludge could be incinerated. But, "the phosphorous would be discharged into the atmosphere and could be delivered back to the land and water by rainfall," warns John Sheaffer of Chicago University's Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for Urban Studies. "Conceivably we would get the same amount back."

It might be simpler to take phosphates out of detergents so they don't get into the water at all. "We'd love to," says an EPA official, "but what would we replace them with?" The government has sponsored two contracts worth $400,000, at the Illinois Institute of Research Technology and the Gillette Research Institute, to find a feasible substitute. "That's the extent of the government effort," says Terry Davies, an assistant to Russell Train: "There's not much point in pushing government research since industry can spend so much more. We think there is no question that industry is making a big push." How big? "That's information we never give out," says a Procter and Gamble spokesman – but the Environmental Defense Fund estimates the research is worth $2.3 million, which is less than one third what Procter and Gamble spent promoting Biz, which contained more phosphates (73.9 percent) than any detergent on the market. The Big Three detergent makers alone spend close to $500 million each year on advertising their pollutants – the same amount the government has allocated to cleaning them up.

Detergent makers do come up with new products now and then. The industry sank its dollars into enzyme pre-soaks three years ago because, advertisements promised, they would remove the toughest stains. FTC tests found that enzymes *didn't* clean most stains; starting this year enzyme detergent labels will have to confess the product will remove only certain stains. Besides, it's not so much the enzymes which work on the stains, but the pre-soaking. The message, says an FTC scientist, is "wash your clothes twice." Enzyme soaks were two-thirds phosphates, anyway. Now manufacturers are pulling most enzyme products off the market, especially since there is mounting evidence that enzymes cause allergies.

The industry's biggest disappointment is caustic soda detergents, which started popping up on the market last year during the peak of the push against phosphates. Sears' nonphosphate detergent, according to the ads, means "clean wash for you – clean water for everyone." But FDA tests show that Sears also burns the skin and eysa and is poisonous if swallowed, like most caustic soda detergents. Caustic soda cleaners – which account for only three percent of the market – are a "cause for serious concern and may be banned," say government officials.

There's a curious inconsistency in a policy which denounces caustic coda detergents as a hazard to health but doesn't proscribe them. After FDA seized Ecolo-G and Bo-Hack's last June, it called 25 detergent manufacturers to Washington and told them to place cautionary warnings on their products. "If all these products were properly labeled and child-proofed, then we wouldn't have to ban them," says Davies. But the FDA can't tell you which manufacturers *have* obeyed – "there are hundreds of detergents," says an FDA enforcement official. "To check them all would be an impossible task." FDA can't even tell you what is in the detergents. "Some of the damn formulas change every week," says Davies.

Of course, housewives could use less detergent. Consumers Union investigators found no difference in cleaning results when they used half the amount of detergent recommended by the manufacturer. Households that need soft water could avoid phosphates entirely by installing, for about $100, a softener (ionization) machine which will improve showers and drinking water. Or consumers can add their own softener, for example washing soda, which used with something like Ivory Snow soap flakes does a fairly good wash job, according to Consumers Union.

Procter and Gamble warns that not using phosphates "would be equivalent to setting back health, cleanliness and sanitation standards for many years." Pretty alarming, until we remember that America emerged from depression and won the Second World War while washing its clothes with soap. And if the manufacturers discover some way to spoil soap, find a clean stream, a large stone and a stick and start smacking the wash. There are plenty of sticks and stones.

Daniel Zwerdling

"My! How I envy your dazzling white wash!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hugo L. Black

by John P. Frank

The tie between *The New Republic* and my 30 years of friendship with Justice Black is thin, but it exists. A 1939 article in this journal by Charles A. Beard got me interested in the subject of Supreme Court appointments. With advice and help from Beard, I went to Washington to make a study of obscure records, which was published in 1941. Then, in 1942, Professor Walton Hamilton of Yale, a frequent *New Republic* author in those days, recommended me to Black as a law clerk.

As a result, the Justice called me in for a visit. I was led into his office in the Supreme Court building for what was scheduled to be a short chat, and because the Justice had read my articles on appointments we began there. Fortunately, I had treated the Black appointment, made in 1937, sympathetically. There had been a wrangle over the fact that in 1925 for a few months Black had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. By 1941, it was apparent that this was more an odd episode than a matter of consequence. Black had not been supported by the Klan when he ran for the Senate in 1926, and was savagely opposed by it because of his aggressive anti-Klan stand as a senator when he ran for reelection in 1932.

Very clearly, when FDR picked Black for the Court in 1937, he was deliberately choosing the most liberal appointee he could get, and at the same time one the Senate could not refuse to confirm. Black, who as a senator had been the key sponsor of what had since become the wage-hour law, had strong labor support. As early as 1933, his 30-hour bill had passed the Senate, and he unrelentingly pushed it and its successor – a 40-hour work week – until he left for the Court in August of 1937. By that time he knew he would win; the bill finally passed in 1938.

The appointment had the support of the liberal senators. Senator George Norris put it this way: "He is a worthy representative of the common people. He understands their hopes and their visions, and their liberties in his hands will be safe."

While I had written about the Black appointment, this was not what we talked about on that September afternoon in 1942. Rather, there was at the moment an appointment pending to the federal district court in New Jersey. The nominee had been chosen by Senator Smathers of that state and was being opposed by Senator Norris for very good reasons. I thought it was a terrible appointment and upheld that point of view; the Justice was less certain but he drew me out in detail. Partly, I suppose, we talked about this simply to have something to talk about; but partly it was because the Justice wanted clerks who would express opposing points of view. He was as good a listener as he was a talker. Over and over during the clerking, he would come into my office simply to talk about something.

The office was not a debating society; above all, we had to get on with the business at hand. But where there were differences, he wanted to hear them. It was during my year as a law clerk that the Court made the initial decision on the government's dealing with the Japanese-Americans on the West Coast, during World War II. My note to the Justice concerning the opinion of Chief Justice Stone, in whose opinion for the Court my Justice was joining, began: "This is a damned Fascist outrage." For years the Justice kept that note in his desk and showed it to successive clerks as an indication that he wanted forthright talk from his young men. I must confess that I don't think any of us ever influenced him much. In my year, he had to make something over a thousand ultimate decisions. I do not believe that I affected the "yes" or "no" on any of them, but he did like to be certain that he had considered all points of view.

Probably every Court historian considers Black one of the ten great Justices in American history. There may be marginal differences as to who the other nine are. Marshall, Taney, Hughes, Miller, Field, are, I suppose, on all the lists, and so, from this century, are Holmes and Brandeis, to name only those not sitting. After these archangels of the law, the lists begin to vary, and it is not important to argue about one as against another. The point is simply that Black belongs with the giants. The question is why? The answer is partly a matter of results and partly a matter of method.

Black's results fill the sky. Of course, no single Justice ever has results which are solely attributable to him. Black's great collaborations with Justice Douglas, Justice Murphy and Justice Rutledge, for instance, were essential to his effectiveness. But one does not denigrate their contributions in noting that Black's name is associated with:

1. The right to counsel for poor persons. Black dissented on that day in 1942 when the Court held that the poor were not entitled to a lawyer in a criminal

---

John P. Frank, *a practicing lawyer in Phoeniz, Arizona, is the author of a biography and numerous articles on the late Justice Black.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

case, and he wrote the majority opinion almost 25 years later, reversing that opinion.

2. One man, one vote. Black dissented from the opinion of Justice Frankfurter, which held that the courts could do nothing to correct the destruction of democracy by maldistricting and malapportionment. He contributed substantially to the eventual overruling of that decision and to the launching of political reorganization on an equal representation basis.

3. He was a major leader in the establishment of constitutional principles of the administration of criminal justice, not only in terms of right to counsel, but in terms of freedom from forced confessions, and of the right against self-incrimination.

4. His was the major work on the separation of church from state.

5. He fought a life-long battle to establish the regulatory powers of state legislatures and the federal Congress, and he won.

6. No one in American history had greater dedication, and unremitting vigor in espousing meaningful freedom of speech.

These were lead areas of Black's work; there were others. In the great race relations revolution of the past 20 years, Black occasionally spoke for the Court and always was with it.

The key elements of Black's method were his simplicity of thought, his simplicity of prose and his plain diligence. Those simplicities were deceptive, for his was the swiftest mind I have ever known. The work contributed to the simplicity.

For illustration, Black, when he came to the Court, took the view that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to corporations at all. So far as he was concerned, the "person" entitled to due process was a living, breathing human being; he thought it fanciful to suppose that the emancipation of slaves was also an emancipation of General Motors. This was a point of view he gave up because, had he adhered to it, he would in effect never have been able to participate in the decisions of his colleagues, who pretty heavily took another view. It is one of the few battles on a constitutional issue – the only one I can think of – where he abandoned his position altogether. Mostly he lived to fight another day. On other simple propositions he held his course and largely won.

It was Black's view, for example, that the Bill of Rights was applicable to the states as well as the federal government. When he began his fight, most of the Bill of Rights was not applicable to the states. Today most all of it is. Again, Black believed in an absolute free speech, which included the belief that obscenity was not subject to legal control. Given this point of view, Black did not ask to read the dirty books or look at the dirty movies which were brought to the Court; since in his view they were beyond legal control, it was immaterial to him what was between the covers or on the screen. While only Justice Douglas has agreed with him on this point, the practical administration of the law of obscenity in recent years has very nearly been as if the Black view had been accepted.

These may have been essentially simple conclusions, but they were not intuitive conclusions. They were the product of work and endless reading. Black was ready to undertake comprehensive research on any matter which concerned him. His position on the Bill of Rights was the product of months of self-assigned and intensive labor. The fact is that for 34 years he worked incredibly hard. Being a Justice was for him an early morning to a late night job all the year round. When he came to the Senate in 1927, Black felt himself uneducated, and with good reason. He had little more than a high school education, and went to law school in Alabama without having had any significant college training at all. As he used to say, he learned the most in law school of anyone in his class; he had the most to learn.

In the Senate, he undertook a reading program. For two years, he took advantage of the fact that he was next door to the Library of Congress. Speaking rarely on the Senate floor, he spent enormous amounts of time in the library stacks. This is not just legend; I have personally known people who saw him there. In his own reading for pleasure, he especially enjoyed English and ancient history. His personal copy of *Livy* is liberally marked up with the notes he took as he was reading it. I would wager that there was scarcely a term-time week in the whole 34 years in which Black did not work a 60-hour week; when I worked for him, he averaged 75 hours every week of the Court year.

It was Heywood Broun who said that a Black opinion was "as plain and simple and clear as a good running story on the first page." Black worked his opinions through draft after draft to make them more elaborate but simpler; an opinion was likely to peak for complexity at the second draft and be smoothed out and simplified by attention to every single word in the drafts that followed.

Black was one of America's great orators, quite possibly, after Franklin Roosevelt, the most effective public speaker of the past 40 years. In the landslide election of 1946, Black was used by the Democratic Party all over the United States. Some of his oratorical quality carried over to his opinions; it was as if sound

COMING: A report on Blacks, Democrats and the 1972 elections— by Ken Bode

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merged with sense as he put his words down and when, on occasion, he delivered an opinion with feeling in the courtroom, it was the best show in town. On an occasion in which he and Justice Frankfurter dissented one from the other, the product was a first-class debate.

I think of some sentences which could only have come from Justice Black. In a dissent objecting to the exclusion of a conscientious objector from the practice of law: "I am not ready to say that a mere profession of belief in the Gospel is a sufficient reason to keep otherwise well qualified men out of the legal profession." In dissent from an opinion upholding a law barring government employees from participating in political affairs: "There is nothing about federal and state employees as a class which justifies depriving them or society of the benefits of their participation in public affairs. They, like other citizens, pay taxes and serve their country in peace and in war. The taxes they pay and the wars in which they fight are determined by the elected spokesmen of all the people." In the recent Pentagon Papers case: "In revealing the workings of the government that led to the Vietnam War, the newspapers nobly did precisely that which the founders hoped and trusted they would do."

Those of us who are dedicated to a free society have lost a leader. He quit a winner and he leads us a glorious example.

Checked Your Volkswagen Lately?

The Beetles

by George Lardner

Ralph Nader and General Motors have found something on which they can agree: too many Americans are buying Volkswagens, some 3.2 million of them wriggling through heavy traffic and sandwiching themselves into small parking spaces. The chagrin in Detroit is economic, for only Ford, Chevrolet, Plymouth, Pontiac and Buick are still outselling VW. Nader's concern is more basic: the Beetle is "more likely to cause serious or fatal injury in any collision than virtually any other car in common use in this country."

Accustomed to Nader's barbs, Volkswagen of America insists that its imports offer "safe, dependable and economical transportation" and sniffs that Nader, "has been making similar allegations about our products since 1966." The documentation this time may not be so easy to ignore. Compiled by Nader and 10 of his colleagues at the Center for Auto Safety, it has been put together in a 200-page report that flatly accuses Volkswagen of trying to "cover up or repress the engineering truth about its vehicles."

Take, for example, a 1968 study of the Beetle commissioned by the Volkswagen organization and undertaken by Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory's Automobile Crash Injury Research Project. Confined primarily to pre-1966 sedans, it found the cars especially prone to damage from rolling over after a collision or even in the absence of a crash. According to the Nader report, it also found Beetle occupants tossed out of their cars in an accident more often the riders of any other foreign or light American car except the Renault Dauphine. The chances of fatal or dangerous injury among ejectees, the ACIR study added, "generally was three to six times greater than among nonejectees."

"As you can readily determine by reading our final report," the Cornell laboratory's research chief, Robert A. Wolf, wrote to Senate Commerce Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson (D, Wash.) on Jan. 10, 1969, "it is hardly laudatory of Volkswagen." Volkswagen of America, long established as the sole importer of VWs, determined otherwise, telling its dealers: "We believe that this study . . . demonstrates that our car is the safest small car in the world." And the *VW Dealer and Industry News* happily proclaimed in an article last Feb. 22: "So VW is a safe car."

VW customers may be less familiar with a deposition taken 12 days earlier from Ulreich Seiffert, Volkswagen's chief test engineer, for a federal court case in New Mexico. The suit, filed against Volkswagenwerk AG, was prompted by a September 1967 crash in Albuquerque in which a 1966 VW allegedly rolled

---

George Lardner *is a reporter for* The Washington Post.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over, lost its gas cap and caught fire. Two people in the VW were killed.

Seiffert disclosed that Volkswagen AG had conducted barrier crash tests of 1965 and 1966 Beetles with somewhat disquieting results. The gas filler caps had come off in every one of five tests conducted at slightly more than 30 miles an hour. The experiments were started a year before the Albuquerque crash and completed a month after it. According to the Nader report, the National Highway Safety Bureau had asked Volkswagen of America in the summer of 1969, nearly two years later, for information on all the laboratory tests involving the gas caps on its 1961-1967 models, but the findings that Seiffert mentioned at his deposition were not supplied. Stronger caps were designed and installed on 1968 and later-model Beetles, but Volkswagen of America, according to the Nader report, refused to alert owners of older VW's to the hazards of keeping their original caps. By contrast, the VW distributor in Sweden, evidently under pressure from the official Swedish Council on Road Safety, offered the improved caps free to all 250,000 owners of 1961-1967 Beetles in that country. Here in the US a new one will cost $2.10 at your friendly Volkswagen dealer.

The allegedly defective gas caps, Nader says, are illustrative of most of the Beetle's shortcomings: small, even trivial, but "highly tragic" in their consequences. A filler cap can pop off in a collision, especially when the car has its gas tank up front like the VW. A study of fire crashes in Sweden in which 72 victims were burned and 38 died, concluded: "Excluding the fires from reserve tanks, it is found that front tank cars are responsible for 80 percent of the burns and 88 percent of the fatal burns in these cases."

The Beetle's "distinctive hazards," as the report calls them, keep cropping up. An estimated two million VW's remain without safety rims on their wheels although the original patent for them entered the public domain back in 1957. The VW's "fair-weather" door latch is another example. American auto manufacturers began using interlocking door latches in 1955 to cut down the chances of car doors popping open in a crash. Again, the report notes, "Volkswagen waited 10 years before they adopted this inexpensive safety item on their cars. In the meantime . . . many people were being killed and injured by ejections from Beetles. . . ." Even the new latches, Nader maintains, may fall short of the government's tepid safety standards.

Perhaps an even more pervasive problem involves the VW seat tracks and seat backs that give way too easily in rear-end collisions, hurling occupants against the back of the car or even out the rear window. "All Beetles from 1959 through 1970 are affected by these seat defects, and the pre-1959 models and VW Squareback and Fastback models are affected as well," declare Nader & Co. Lawsuits seem to be mushrooming. A Honolulu jury recently settled one complaint by finding Volkswagen almost as much at fault as the driver of the other car. The suit stemmed from the collision of a 1956 Chevrolet with the rear end of a 1965 VW Squareback that happened to be standing still. The VW's seat came loose from its tracks, spilling the plaintiff into the back of the car where she suffered head injuries. The jury ordered the driver of the Chevy to pay 60 percent of the damages and Volkswagen, 40 percent. According to Volkswagen of America vice president Arthur R. Railton, the seat tracks of 1971 VW's have been "redesigned to provide greater strength and ease of adjustment," a step which may or may not prove adequate.

Meanwhile, VW can still claim that the seats in its earlier models meet federal standards. The regulations, the Nader report protests, do nothing more than prevent seat failures "at speeds not much higher than parking lot maneuvers."

Other hazards of the Beetle, Nader says, are too ingrained for correction in the current design, such as its instability in crosswinds and its propensity for rolling over. The sluggish, lightweight VW Microbus, he adds, is even worse, "so unsafe that it should be removed from the roads" Much could be done to make the millions of Beetles now on the roads less dangerous, Nader says; the modifications would cost Volkswagen of America $184 million, or an average of slightly less than $60 a car. The company seems unlikely to respond. "Our products," said a Volkswagen spokesman, "meet or exceed all safety standards."

It is a claim that has come to serve the auto industry as an endorsement, like government-graded beef. It appears to mean about as much. More than 30 auto safety standards have been issued since the first of them went into effect Jan. 1, 1968. According to the Nader report, VWs have been given compliance tests for just 10 of these standards and of the 25 tests conducted, "there were 14 failures," half of them still awaiting investigation and the other half either resolved with "no action" or concluded with "a mild letter to Volkswagen."

VWs may get closer scrutiny in the months ahead. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has been conducting stability tests on the Beetle, as part of a long-overdue check on the similarly designed 1960-63 Corvairs which Nader condemned in *Unsafe at Any Speed:* The agency is taking the new Nader report "very seriously."

There was apparently no chortling among the domestic automakers over Nader's indictment of the competition, however. When one manufacturer is attacked on safety grounds, says one longtime industry-watcher, "they all kind of wince." Both GM and Ford are said to have conducted their own crash tests on VWs which Nader challenged them to disclose, but both GM and Ford also have plants in West Germany and it is doubtful that they would wish to antagonize VW. The industry attitude, Nader suggests,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is "a case of 'you scratch my defect and I'll scratch yours.'"

Even so, there have been rumblings at Volkswagen AG, which exports 30 to 35 percent of its production to the United States. The day after the Nader report was released, VW Chairman Kurt Lotz resigned from his $180,000-a-year post, concluding weeks of rumors that he was about to be fired. Although US sales of VW's various models reached an alltime high last year of 569,182 cars and Microbuses, the company's net profits fell sharply. Another drop was forecast this year even before President Nixon announced his new surcharge on imports, a step more to Detroit's liking than niggling over auto safety.

Missile Myths – II

Upgrading Soviet SAM

by Herbert Scoville, Jr.

If President Nixon is to negotiate an ABM limitation this year, some of the current misconceptions about the nature of ABM systems have to be cleared up. We can't afford to base our security and arms control policies on false alarms. One such little publicized fear has been the idea that somehow the Soviets would secretly convert their extensive anti-aircraft defense missile sytems (SAMs) into anti-ballistic missile systems (ABMs) and thus threaten the US deterrent and contribute to a Russian first-strike capability. This theory, which became known in the jargon of strategic planning as "SAM Upgrade," was originally applied to the Tallinn SAM system (so-called because it was first observed near the city of Tallinn), which, in the earlier stages of construction, could not be incontrovertibly assigned an aircraft defense role. However, it has now been demonstrated that the Tallinn radars are completely unsuitable for an ABM system. The interceptor missiles have aerodynamic surfaces, unnecessary for maneuver outside the atmosphere, and many of the site locations are valueless for missile defense. Nevertheless, as this tactic of attributing to the Russians fantastic technological powers proved successful in promoting arms programs and throwing roadblocks in the path of the SALT negotiators, the Upgrade concept has been extended to older SAMs as well.

Dr. John S. Foster, head of Pentagon research and engineering, gave public recognition to this fear when, testifying in favor of US MIRV* programs and against a MIRV test ban before a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on August 5, 1969, he stated that "some way to control SAM upgrading must be found." This has been used since as an argument for rushing ahead with the US Minuteman III land-based ICBM and submarine-launched Poseidon MIRV programs, even though the Soviets had halted and cut back on their ABM deployment and could not achieve a true ABM system requiring US MIRVs for more than five years. Furthermore, it was a major cause of half-hearted and patently unrealistic past US efforts to seek limitations on MIRVs at SALT, even though such limitations would have been a much more effective way of protecting our Minuteman deterrent force than would be a ceiling on numbers of the large Soviet SS-9 missiles, which the administration proposed instead. This failure in the long run will, by undermining the viability of our entire Minuteman deterrent, increase the risk to US security far more than could any conceivable conversion of Soviet SAMs to ABMs. Unfortunately, there is no evidence from the joint US-USSR statement in May that MIRVs will be in the next stage of SALT a serious topic for discussion under the measures for limiting offensive weapons.

President Nixon in his State of the World Message last February 25 stated that "we have not yet found a way to overcome certain differences [on verification]. They are particularly difficult in connection

---

Herbert Scoville, Jr. *is chairman of the Federation of American Scientists' strategic weapons panel. Formerly he was deputy director for research, CIA and assistant director for science and technology of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Part I of this report appeared in the October 2 issue.*

*MIRV – Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle, used to provide a single missile with several nuclear warheads which can be fired at different targets.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with our attempts to limit or ban MIRVs or ABMs." The SAM Upgrade fears are the only conceivable difficulty that could arise in verifying an ABM limitation, since ABMs *per se* are easily detectable by national or unilateral means. If some special verification procedures, such as inspection by foreigners of SAM complexes or special operational procedures for anti-aircraft radars are sought, then we will find it extremely difficult to settle on any ABM controls. As long as a nationwide net of large ABM radars is banned, onsite inspection will not be needed. A severe limitation on ABMs, even without any restrictions on offensive weapons, would be in the US security interest, for it would guarantee our ability to retaliate with devastating effect against the USSR after any conceivable first strike.

Is SAM Upgrade a real security problem or only a myth concocted to make more difficult the halting of the strategic arms race? Its proponents propose that a Russian ABM would be made out of an existing bomber defense. Yet, President Nixon in announcing our Safeguard decision stated that "an ABM system designed to protect cities from a Soviet type threat could not prevent a catastrophic level of US fatalities." Secretary Laird reaffirmed this when he stated that "an effective defense of our population against a major Soviet attack is not now feasible." Thus, even without any restrictions and using all the technology available from US science, we do not believe that an ABM which could protect our people can be built! Why then is it so easy for the Russians to convert an aircraft defense system into an ABM; why are our military planners requesting more than $13 billion for the Safeguard ABM, which its proponents admit is not capable of protecting populations and its opponents claim is incapable of even doing the easier job of protecting Minuteman sites? Why not simply convert the US Nike-Hercules aircraft defense missile system, which is being dismantled even though it compares favorably with the Soviet SAMs?

"Its size staggers the imagination."

An ABM system must have high-powered, highly complex radars to track many incoming objects over long distances and discriminate potential nuclear warheads from a wide variety of decoys. These radars are extremely visible to photographic observation and require many, many years for construction. Before they become operable, they will have to go on the air radiating large amounts of energy which will be readily detectable and identifiable to electronic pickup devices far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. Since neither the Tallinn nor other Soviet SAMs have radars which in any way resemble such items, the SAM Upgrade fearmongers suggested that, instead, the Soviet early-warning Henhouse radars (similar to US BMEWS radars) might be linked to the air defense sytem to replace the missing ABM ones. Even if this were done, the system would have marginal effectiveness; even more important, these Henhouse radars are, in most cases, situated on the periphery of the USSR and are indefensible. They could be destroyed by the first incoming missile, and the system would be a blinded Cyclops. Furthermore, the air defense interceptor missiles themselves are also completely inadequate. In fact, it has been said that in order to turn a Soviet aircraft defense system into an ABM with any real capability to affect the US deterrent, the existing radars would have to be replaced or a large number of new ones built, thousands of new interceptors deployed, and a completely new nationwide Command and Control system installed. Better to start from scratch.

Yet it is the fear that something like this will happen which has, in the past, been a critically important factor in undercutting success at SALT. This cannot be allowed to remain so in the next round if President Nixon's satisfaction at breaking the SALT deadlock is not to be illusory. Likewise, this myth must no longer be used to promote new and expensive US strategic weapons programs such as MIRVs, long before any real security requirement exists. It is time that we drop the double standard that attributes to the Russians technological feats of which we are incapable. If we allow such remote possibilities to eat away at our strategic policies, we shall never be released from the burden and risks of an escalating arms race.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Proposal to the President
Vietnam Amnesty

by James Reston, Jr.

The figures on what the war in Vietnam has done to a generation of Americans are staggering. Beyond the 347,214 killed and wounded (as of September 18, 1971), there are over 50,000 American exiles in Canada. Members of the Canadian Parliament expect this figure to reach 150,000 before the war and the draft are over. The FBI received 146,554 draft violation complaints between 1966 and 1970, and needless to say, the Bureau does not receive the name of every draft evader. Over 89,000 American soldiers deserted the military in 1970. In 1968, 723 men were in federal prisons for draft related convictions.

There is no way to compute the psychological casualties. Beyond the despair all around us, we now have a new, sad element: the bitterness of those who offered themselves up as soldiers in 1965-66 for patriotic reasons, and now find out they were lied to by their President. Thus for the Vietnam generation, the country must prove itself worthy of respect, not as some would have it, the other way around.

The immediate issue, however, is restitution to a generation that has both fought the war abroad and been the vanguard of protest at home. This must come in the form of major concessions to the dissident young, concessions which should in no way demean the sacrifices of those who fought in Vietnam.

What is needed is a program of universal amnesty for all who are or have been subject to prosecution by the United States government for crimes relating to opposition to the war in Vietnam. This is the logical end result of a domestic application of Vietnamization, which is simply the national recognition of a mistake couched in bureaucratic language. Amnesty can come either by presidential or congressional action, either as the Amnesty Act, or the Amnesty Proclamation of 1971. The President is authorized under Article I, Section II of the Constitution "to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States". In numerous cases in the post-Civil War era, Congress acted to relieve persons whose civil rights had been taken away, before it finally passed the Universal Amnesty Act in 1898.

Universal amnesty is appropriate in the case of political exiles and political prisoners today, and is distinguished legally and historically from general amnesty. General amnesty has conditions and exceptions, whereas universal amnesty contains none. President Lincoln made the first Civil War Amnesty Proclamation on Dec. 8, 1863. It was a general amnesty for all who would sign an oath of allegiance to the Union, except six classes of individuals: civil or diplomatic officers of the Confederate government; judges who defected to the Confederacy; military men above the rank of colonel in the Army or captain in the Navy; legislators who left Congress to aid the rebellion; commissioned officers in the US military who resigned to become Confederate officers; and those who sold black escapees back into slavery across the battle lines. President Andrew Johnson declared three general amnesties: on March 29, 1865, Sept. 7, 1867, and July 4, 1868 – all requiring an oath of allegiance.

A President with a sense of history might choose Christmas Day 1971, the 97th anniversary of President Andrew Johnson's declaration as a fitting time for a Vietnam Amnesty declaration. If President Lincoln could declare a general amnesty one year and a half before Lee's surrender at Appomattox, President Nixon can declare a universal amnesty this year.

The way amnesty is declared is nearly as important as the proclamation itself. A sanctimonious tone taken toward misguided, errant young will miss the point. The country has erred; the instinct of the exiles and the prisoners has been right. Amnesty must come as an honest and courageous attempt at national expiation. The majority of exiles are not waiting for their country to forgive them. Rather, I've been told by a counselor of hundreds of Americans in Toronto, it is a question of whether they can forgive their country.

The terms "draft dodging" and "desertion" have lost their old flavor, expecially as the facts of US involvement become more widely known. These offenses are, after all, not treasonous in the sense that the offenses pardoned under the Civil War amnesties were. The exiles in Canada or the prisoners at home have refused to participate in their country's intrigues; they have not actively joined the enemy. I suspect that draft refusal, and even draft evasion and desertion will be overlooked by most Americans, and indeed admired by many after the war, just as today a jail sentence during the Southern civil rights campaigns of the early 60s is a badge of honor.

Historically, the shortness of the country's memory is borne out. Dr. Evan Thomas, Norman Thomas' brother, who has perhaps the best pacifist credentials of any American alive today (draft refusal, 1917; chairman, War Resisters League in World War II)

James Reston, Jr. *served in the US army from 1965 to 1968. His first novel* To Defend, To Destroy *was published in January by Norton.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

told me a story which shows this. After he was released from military custody in 1919, nearly a year after he had been sentenced in a military court to 99 years for "refusing to eat," the outcome of a hunger strike, Thomas tried to get into a number of medical schools. None would have him, including New York University. Ten years later, NYU sought him out and begged him to attend their medical school. He did and some years later was a resident physician at the NYU Medical Center.

Amnesty for political exiles abroad should be only one aspect of a general program of restitution. It would be irresponsible to grant amnesty to the exiles without attending to the whole pattern of harassment.

The campaign might start with the investigative machinery that has been created during the Vietnam years to track down the subversives and to report on the dissidents. This system is a hangover from the Johnson era when victory in Vietnam was a national goal, and the refusal of participation was considered treason. But still in 1971 the FBI and the military investigating agencies work on directives set under Johnson, and the bureaucratic ball is rolling more smoothly than ever. Department of Defense Directive 1325.2, entitled Unauthorized Desertion and Absence, directs the services to turn over to the FBI the names of all AWOL soldiers after 60 days absence. In FY '69 the FBI received 51,000 such names and apprehended 14,000 of them. An FBI spokesman proudly told me that this constituted a higher apprehension rate than in FY '68 when 38,885 soldiers deserted. The FBI has also received from Selective Service an average of 28,000 draft evasion complaints a year since 1966, but in 1970, the second year of Vietnamization, the bureau could point to 923 convictions, the highest yet.

The combination of a well-oiled investigative machine, the talk of an end to the war, and court decisions strengthening the pleas of conscientious objectors creates tremendous uncertainties. Should he who demurs flee to Canada before the FBI picks him up? Should he stay and try to win in court? – but what if he loses? What device will stall the induction process for two years when a draft call may be eliminated, and there may be a different President?

I know a 22-year-old who refused induction over a year ago and has waited ever since to be picked up. He has honorably tried to face his moral obligation as he sees it, has spent over a thousand dollars in legal fees, and has stayed in the town of his refusal, delaying a career he wished to pursue elsewhere. He has adjusted himself to the thought of prison, but not to the reality of waiting. I told the fellow to remove Vietnam from his life now as best he could, and continue about his business. He has paid his dues.

The Congress acted to remove the uncertainty of the draft by limiting eligibility to 19 year olds. It could eliminate uncertainty about arrest also, either demanding a stop to further prosecutions of draft evaders and draft refusers, or at the very least, by limiting eligibility for arrest to a set period, say six months, after which the individual would be immune. Of course, the President could obviate this need, by simply freezing further Justice Department action. There is historical precedent for this. In late 1865 after Appomattox and after Andrew Johnson's first amnesty proclamation, Judge John C. Underwood of the Federal District Court of Virginia in Norfolk, continued to order arrests and treason indictments of paroled prisoners of war. Ulysses S. Grant appealed to President Johnson to restrain Underwood. Johnson at first refused, as initially in his presidency he espoused a tough line against the rebels. But when Grant threatened to resign over the issue, the President relented, and the prosecutions ceased.

Finally, there are some 500 persons in prison convicted on draft refusal charges. To them an amnesty is also due, for they are perhaps the most hopeful breed of all draft resisters. They've stayed, which may indicate that they feel the country *is* worth fighting for.

Draft refusal or draft evasion questions have largely been an issue for the college educated. This is reflected in the exile population: the impulse to flee for the evader is abstract, political, whereas the impulse to flee for the deserter is often a gut reaction of outrage at what he sees in the military. What sort of amnesty is due the latter?

The main area for concern here is the proposed All-Volunteer Army. In the two summers I worked in the Neighborhood Youth Corps in New York City, I saw time and again poor youngsters take the military option as the only escape from the streets. The Pentagon is perfectly aware of this opportunity. If you travel around the country, you notice the heavy advertising for the services in the rural areas or in poverty neighborhoods. The so-called combat skills get the biggest push, because the Army has the hardest time getting volunteers for these jobs. Thus recruiters armed with Madison Avenue techniques, appeal to the *machismo* of the 18 and 19 year old for whom virility is something to be proved. I will never forget an 18 year old I met in basic training who had volunteered to be a helicopter gunner, one of the most dangerous jobs in Vietnam, because his recruiter said the job was like riding shotgun on the pony express.

The poor youth of this country deserve an amnesty from the military dupe. The Army must cease to be a primary escape from the Appalachias, the inner cities and the small towns of America. A system of humanitarian alternatives of equal stature, duration, and sacrifice to military enlistment should be devised. The streets of Brooklyn or the roads of Eastern Kentucky provide infinite possibilities for regional service if youth were mobilized for social programs. The goal must be to change our national emphasis: to admit error and get on with useful work, so that young people will again freely want to serve their country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Remembrance of Things Past

The Liberal Capitulation

The President has just signed into law a bill repealing Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which authorized the preventive detention of alleged subversives by the Justice Department. Among those celebrating the demise of this remnant of the McCarthy era, there aren't many who care to recall that Title II was the product not of the Republican right but the Democratic left.

The origins of Title II go back to the late 1940s when a handful of congressmen, exploiting popular fears about domestic communism, began a drive for a sweeping new internal security law. Most Republicans and not a few Democrats favored a Communist registration bill originally drafted by Congressmen Richard Nixon and Karl Mundt. Opponents of the measure argued that it was unnecessary, that the registration procedures were cumbersome and ineffective, and that, most important, the bill imperiled traditional liberties guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments. Nevertheless, as the anti-Communist hysteria of the late 1940s mounted, support for the bill steadily increased. By the summer of 1950, following the outbreak of the Korean War, the measure had won the backing of Pat McCarran, the powerful and conservative Nevada Democrat who chaired the Senate Judiciary Committee. Republican congressional leaders placed the bill on their "must list," and the Democrats came under heavy pressure to support it lest they appear remiss in their patriotism.

In August 1950, McCarran reported out of committee an omnibus internal security bill which incorporated the Mundt-Nixon proposal and four other internal security measures as well. The Democratic leadership, which had done little to keep the bill off the floor, urged President Truman to support it. Truman, who was adamantly opposed to the bill, noted caustically that "a lot of people on the Hill . . . had been stampeded into running with their tails between their legs."

It was against this background that a small group of Senate Democrats initiated a move designed to block the registration bill, while at the same time securing their own credentials as anti-Communists. Led by Harley Kilgore of West Virginia, Paul Douglas of Illinois, and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the liberals proposed as a substitute for the McCarran bill an emergency detention plan for the internment of suspected subversives upon the declaration of an "internal security emergency" by the President. This "concentration camp bill," as one White House aide labeled it, became the uneasy rallying point for liberals trying to block the McCarran bill. It was a "very bad bill," declared the legislative assistant to New York Democrat Herbert Lehman, one of the cosponsors of the measure. It had "profound" constitutional weaknesses in seeking to set aside the right of *habeas corpus*. Still, it would "certainly impress the public with the fact that you are determined to act against Communists." While the bill disturbed many liberals, some, like James Loeb, Jr., of Americans for Democratic Action, argued that it was "justified both by realistic justice and by political expedience."

On September 6, 1950, Douglas, Kilgore, Lehman, Humphrey and several other liberal Democrats called on Truman to explain their proposal. They told the President that "they had to make a move of this sort as the only possible way of beating the McCarran bill." Truman declined to commit himself, however, telling the senators to go ahead with their plans, but that he would reserve judgment until such time as the measure might reach his desk.

In a series of complicated parliamentary maneuvers the concentration-camp provision was first rejected as a substitute for the McCarran bill, then later accepted as an addition to the measure on the motion of Democratic Majority Leader Scott Lucas. Thus the "McCarran" bill, as it came to a final vote, included both the "conservative" registration bill sponsored by Nixon and the Republicans and the "liberal" concentration camp bill supported by the Democrats. One group of Democratic senators met and concluded that although the bill was "a bad measure" which, under ordinary circumstances, should not be supported, "those who faced the electorate *this* year would be taking too great a risk if they voted right because of the popular lack of understanding and hysteria over the issue."

The Senate liberals found themselves in the embarrassing position of voting for or against a bill which contained their own measure; and a number of them (Hubert Humphrey, Paul Douglas, Harley Kilgore, Wayne Morse, William Benton, Warren Magnuson and Clinton Anderson) voted for it on its final Senate passage. "As I look back on it I am very ashamed of my vote on the McCarran Act," confessed Connecticut Democrat William Benton. Hubert Humphrey struck a similar note in a letter to Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, one of the seven senators who had voted against the measure. "I was very proud of you and your vote on the McCarran bill," he wrote. "I wish I could say the same for myself."

Following Senate passage, a number of liberals, including some like Humphrey and Kilgore who had voted for the bill, now urged Truman to kill it. The President needed no encouragement and returned the bill with a strongly worded veto. By then, however, the liberals had frittered away what little power or claim to moral authority they had, and the veto was quickly overriden by a vote of 286-46 in the House and 57-10 in the Senate.

Robert Griffith

Mr. Griffith *is the author of* The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Sunday Bloody Sunday

(United Artists)

The press handout says that John Schlesinger had the original idea for this picture and then selected Penelope Gilliatt as the "right writer." She was; or rather, she would have been, if it had really been the right idea. The milieu – of English art-and-intellect society, of minutiae as the tactics of contemporary internal crisis – is something that she has handled admirably in some of her stories. But where was the idea? Essentially *Sunday Bloody Sunday* is a situation, not a dramatic idea, and although there are many subtle touches in it, they don't grow toward anything much.

It's a triangle story, except that this time the triangle consists of a middle-aged man and a woman in love with the same young man. The youth is a successful London sculptor (Murray Head), the older man is a doctor (Peter Finch), the woman an ex-married employment counsellor (Glenda Jackson). The theme – and I have to do some inventing here where I should only be inferring – is the tension among three people who are directly and indirectly involved with one another, tension arising out of differing modern attitudes toward involvement. Head wants to be free to concentrate on the moment, and then move on; Jackson eventually says she wants committed love though most of the time she is gallant about sharing; Finch is a happy man, interested mainly in possessions. (In the picture's last moments, he says that he will miss the youth, who has gone to America leaving both his lovers, but will be quite happy except for missing him.)

Now this is the *beginning* of a film of quiet, nerve-baring drama, but this script merely states its positions and then, for the most part, keeps moving around the triangle again and again, restating them. We know who these people are fairly quickly and there isn't much more that we know about them much later. Jackson is made to resign from her job quite arbitrarily, just so that she will have some outward sign of motion; her outbreak near the end, in which she tells Head she won't see him on his return from the US because she wants all or nothing, seems like a "last scene" speech out of another picture. (If Head hadn't gone abroad, presumably she would have gone right on sharing him.) And she is the only one who is given even some trumped-up change. Nothing really alters in these people through the film; and they don't really do anything to one another. It's one long situation.

About an hour into the story there's a scene in which Jackson drives past Head's flat at night and looks up at the lighted window. As she drives out of the shot, Finch drives in from the opposite direction, without seeing her, and he too goes past looking at the lighted window. I thought that this, in outer symmetry and inner design, was the end of the picture. It *is*, really, but the picture goes on for almost another hour. In fact the single best sequence comes later on, and it's very much to my point that this sequence has little do with the triangle. (Jackson spends an evening, bed and all, with a quietly frightened 55-year-old executive who has lost his job and whom she is trying to place. The man is played by Tony Britton, who helps give the whole episode tenderness and dignity.)

Much of the dialogue is sharply engraved – in that episode, in a party scene, in a scene between Jackson and her mother (Peggy Ashcroft), as well as all the scenes with some small children of friends, who are delightful. But the script lacks a mainspring – not of plot contrivance, which would be foreign to its nature, but of boiling chemistries. Instead, we are asked to make assumptions about catch-all modern themes. Byron once described a certain kind of poetry as "Oh, glory, etc." These modern themes might be called "Oh, alienation, etc."

For some of the script's defects Schlesinger is presumably responsible since the press handout makes a point of noting that he had many discussions with Gilliatt while she was writing. He is certainly responsible for all the defects in execution and, sad to say, there are many. The virtues are few. Some scenes, like Britton's, are well controlled, and here and there – the party scene is one place – motion and meaning intertwine the way they have in Schlesinger's best work. And he gets a fine performance from Glenda Jackson: beautifully modulated, with humor and sharp slivers of pain and little cat-like enjoyments.

On the other hand, watching Peter Finch is like watching a bolt of velour being unrolled before you, smooth smooth smooth. He's been selling that velour for so long that he's lost the actor's absolute requisite: credibility. When he ends a phone call with a silly patient, gets up and says, "Jesus Christ, I need a drink," I saw the typed words on a page and heard the director telling him to move. As for Murray Head, Schlesinger's new find, he is simply a disaster. I couldn't believe, first, that

(continued on page 31)

Films Worth Seeing

Carnal Knowledge. The US tail-chasing male skinned by Jules Feiffer – but the knife isn't sharp enough. Sometimes funny, eventually flat. But Mike Nichols does his best film direction, and Jack Nicholson (as a Bronxite???) blazes through.

Desperate Characters. They're desperate upper-middle-class married characters, beset by the hostilities around and between them. Deft, authentic, *whole.* Kenneth Mars and, yes, Shirley MacLaine are good. Frank D. Gilroy scripted, produced, directed, triumphed.

The Go-Between. 1900, looking fresh as English daisies. Mildly poignant story, like the L. P. Hartley original, about a small boy who witnesses a doomed love affair. Margaret Leighton fine, Alan Bates fair, Julie Christie foo. Joseph Losey directed, at his textural best.

The Hired Hand. An attempt to capture, in visual ballad form, the changing of the Old West, where men fared alone, into a west of families and farms. Sometimes precious, often lovely. Verna Bloom is an earthy farm wife. Peter Fonda, merely earnest as the husband, does better with his directing. (His directing debut.)

Little Big Man. Dustin Hoffman in the Old West, too, as both a white man and an Indian, which enables him to live to 121! The antiwhite moralizing in Arthur Penn's direction is a bit heavy, but there's some picaresque sweep. SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All for Love

Maurice
by E. M. Forster
(W.W. Norton & Co. Inc.; $6.95)

Albergo Empedocle & Other Writings
by E. M. Forster
(Liveright; $7.45)

Maurice was begun in 1913 and finished in 1914. It was written, in other words, between the publication of E.M. Forster's two most substantial works, *Howards End* and *A Passage to India.* Now, after a number of private readings and, apparently, a minimum of revision, it is published a year after its author's death.

During the first years of the present century Forster evolved a type of novel of considerable originality. It owed a great deal, despite an almost total contrast of style and texture, to Meredith, a writer whom Forster didn't like. And it hasn't had all that much influence on subsequent novelists, though *The Great Gatsby* seems to me in its American way rather like a Forster novel. The main thing about Forster's method is the peculiar and elusive combination of the realistic and symbolic. These are books apparently about personal relationships, with a comic-ironic tone which sometimes recalls Jane Austen; yet they are also about situations and truths of a much more general kind: not metaphysical truths but human ones, set very firmly in history and the development of human society. What seems to me unique in Forster is the sort of tension he achieves in his novels between the particular and the general, between the particular personal stories he describes and the more general truths he reveals. To call the books symbolic is unsatisfactory, for they are singularly down-to-earth, social, and often local in their emphasis: yet to take them for the sort of novels Jane Austen wrote is no use, for they operate importantly on quite another level. The two most ambitious books, *Howards End* and *A Passage to India* are complex statements about the contemporary world and it is hard to say whether the general or the particular in them comes first.

In scale *Maurice* belongs to the earlier rather than the later Forster. It is a story of the awakening of love and an assertion of its supreme value. Maurice is a very middle-class, unintellectual young man from the stockbroker belt who goes to a public school like Sawston of *The Longest Journey.* He is almost entirely conventional, conservative, smug. At Cambridge he meets a young man who looks and talks like Lytton Strachey and, through him, another named Clive Durham with whom he falls in love. At this point his troubles begin but also his potentialities, for the act of falling in love is a breakthrough towards seeing his world and himself in a different and truer way. Maurice's progress is towards a happiness which is also – everything contrives to assure us – Life.

The relationship with Clive is both a revelation and a disaster, for Clive, who is an intellectual as well as a social snob, maintains it on a level of more or less Platonic idealism which merely shrouds his own impenetrable conventionality. Maurice, innocent as only an English public-schoolboy could be, for three years settles happily enough for a situation which, as Forster truly remarks, no Italian boy would put up with. It is only when Clive reveals his limitations by beginning to take an interest in women that Maurice comes painfully to realize that his friend is a hopeless revisionist, a prig and toady who wants the best of every world except that of the human heart. After a couple of grotesquely unsuccessful attempts to get medical help in reconciling himself to the standards of the society which drove out Oscar Wilde, Maurice utters and responds to, the call of love – properly this time – with Alec Scudder, Clive's assistant gamekeeper. The book ends with an assertion – at once tentative and uncompromising – of the human value of the lovers' decision to "share," with all that implies. The bourgeois world is well lost for love. Dr. Johnson wouldn't have liked it a bit.

If one stresses what is bound to become a stock comparison with *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (published in 1928), one does so with one's eyes open. Forster himself invites the comparison by a reference in his Terminal Note to "the prickly gamekeepers of D. H. Lawrence." Clearly he was standing no nonsense from the future post-graduate who will prove that Lawrence's Parkin/Mellors predated Maurice's Scudder. Actually, the parallels between the two books are tremendously interesting.

They end, for one thing, on almost precisely the same note. In each we are asked to accept the overriding value of a relationship which all practical considerations must inevitably make difficult, if not impossible. For another, both novelists see the personal relationships as part and parcel of a constantly evoked social situation: Maurice, like Connie C, isn't just after more satisfactory sex. *Maurice,* like *Lady Chatterley,* is a novel about England's condition.

Again, the gamekeepers are more than a coincidence. For Forster, as for Lawrence, the lover *must* be working-class, for the frustrations of the main protagonists are indissolubly bound up with a social, not just a personal, impasse. Connie and Maurice are imprisoned in the emotions of the bourgeois world. And gamekeepers, besides being lower-class, are also close to nature – in touch with forces more elemental than social convention and not at all mind-forged. It is interesting too that Forster has just the same sort of difficulty with Clive as Lawrence has with poor old Clifford Chatterley. He can't control or hide his animus, and for the very good reason that Clive, like Clifford, embodies what the novel is against – an intellectuality which is impotent precisely because, aware or not, it arises from a rationalization of economic self-interest. It is, then, class attitudes that determine the souls of both men and make them, to their creators, less than human.

To say, then, that *Maurice* is Forster's *Lady Chatterley* is to indicate something pretty basic about the nature of this novel: a note which, according to taste, you can call propagandist, or committed, or simply a little bit abstract. You can also, if you like, call it romantic. What could be more romantic than the passage near the end describing Maurice's and Alec's future?

> They must live outside class, without relations or money, they must work and stick to each other till death.. But England belonged to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them. That, besides companionship, was their reward. Her air and sky were theirs, not the timorous millions' who own stuffy little boxes, but never their own souls.

This sounds, out of context especially, more vulnerable than, I think, it actually is. Before we start using a pejoratively-angled word like romantic to damn Forster's hero, we shall do well to consider some alternative treatment of homosexuality in modern British writing. Take a book, for example, like J.R. Ackerley's *My Father and Myself* (1968). Ackerley was a close friend of Forster's. Presumably they had some of the same problems and, in life, may have adopted a comparable tone. But in Ackerley's record of a homosexual life (granted the dubiety of a comparison between a novel and a memoir) there is a desperate kind of nullity, a human emptiness, which makes one feel that, if this is the alternative, there is a lot to be said for romantic attitudes.

Ackerley's memoir is in one sense outstandingly honest and true. In another (and more important one) it is almost intolerably mannered – cynical and arid almost to the point of pathos – simply because Ackerley can't say "England belonged to them," can't commit himself to Forster's insistence on a happy ending. For Forster's assertion of the value of love is, in the end, (though it's vulnerable alright) not really sentimental because what he is writing about is not an emotion, exalted for its own sake, but what is happening to people in England in his time. As another writer with not dissimilar problems was to put it, "We must love one another or die."

Forster, though he hasn't Lawrence's many-sided genius, or his sense of the enormous impact of industrialization, seems to me on the whole subtler and acuter, as well as more humane, than Lawrence in his feeling for the manners and significance of social life. I don't mean that he is a novelist of manners (though he is good on them), but that his integrity expresses itself in a wonderful concreteness of situation. This comes out in his language. On the face of it middle-class Edwardian English, with its dated slang and curious verbal inadequacy (those awful "jollys"), is an unpromising vehicle for highly suggestive, not to say symbolic, fiction. But Forster turns it into a virtue: it is one of his ways of achieving the modest ironical realism which – in his method as novelist – has to counteract any tendency towards pretentiousness that his aspiring imagination may generate. To put it another way: because Forster's philosophy operates in realist, as opposed to symbolic, terms, he is able to get away with episodes which in the cold light of analysis would seem impossible.

The collection of writings published (for the first time in book form) under the title of *Albergo Empedocle and Other Writings* is a mixed bag, covering the years 1900 to 1915. Some of the pieces are for addicts only and none – unless it is the talk on Dante to the Working Men's College in London or the piece on Inspiration – can really be said to give us much of Forster that has not hitherto been revealed. The title story is a sketch rather than a fully-worked achievement, but it is interesting as a preview of the *Maurice* homosexual theme, with the young hero discovering love in Sicily. For myself, I would swap the lot for the Terminal Note to *Maurice*, almost every sentence of which is splendid in one way or another, drawing out of one a renewal of admiration for so fine a writer, so fine a man.

Arnold Kettle

Underwriting Invasions of Privacy

Kennedy Justice by Victor Navasky

(Atheneum: $10)

The Army keeps files on civilian public officials. Small town police chiefs keep files on ecology advocates. In 1970, under court approved surveillance, federal and state authorities, using wiretaps and hidden microphones, listened in on almost 400,000 conversations as 30,000 individuals tried to talk privately over home and pay phones, on the street, in their cars and even in semi-deserted parking lots. How did it all come about?

This is no anti-Kennedy diatribe. Far from it. It is an intricate and thorough study of Robert Kennedy's tenure as Attorney General, a scholarly work. Navasky gives Kennedy high marks for bringing intelligent and humane law to the Justice Department, for using the best and most imaginative ideas available to him, for inspiring those who surrounded him, for committing himself to social reform and equal justice. By and large, Navasky says, Robert Kennedy was a "compassionate man . . . an honest man . . . a humanitarian." Yet two flaws marred his tenure as Attorney General. He was unwilling to bring J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI to heel, something he might have been able to do, for as the President's brother he was the "maximum" Attorney General. And, he had a careless attitude toward surreptitious surveillance.

When Robert Kennedy came to the department, the FBI paid scant attention to organized crime, and it was hardly conscious of the emerging black battle for civil rights. Kennedy, in a series of skirmishes, pressured the bureau into his battle against the syndicates, and he managed to a limited extent to involve the bureau in the federal government's assault on state-imposed civil rights barriers. And yet this man who had whiplashed veteran politicians to get his brother elected never seriously questioned Hoover's – and the bureau's – claim to be able to go its own way, to decide its availability even in those areas Kennedy had introduced to them. As the FBI assumed new responsibilities, it got more money and more men and constituted nearly half of Kennedy's domain, commanding more than 40 per cent of the budget

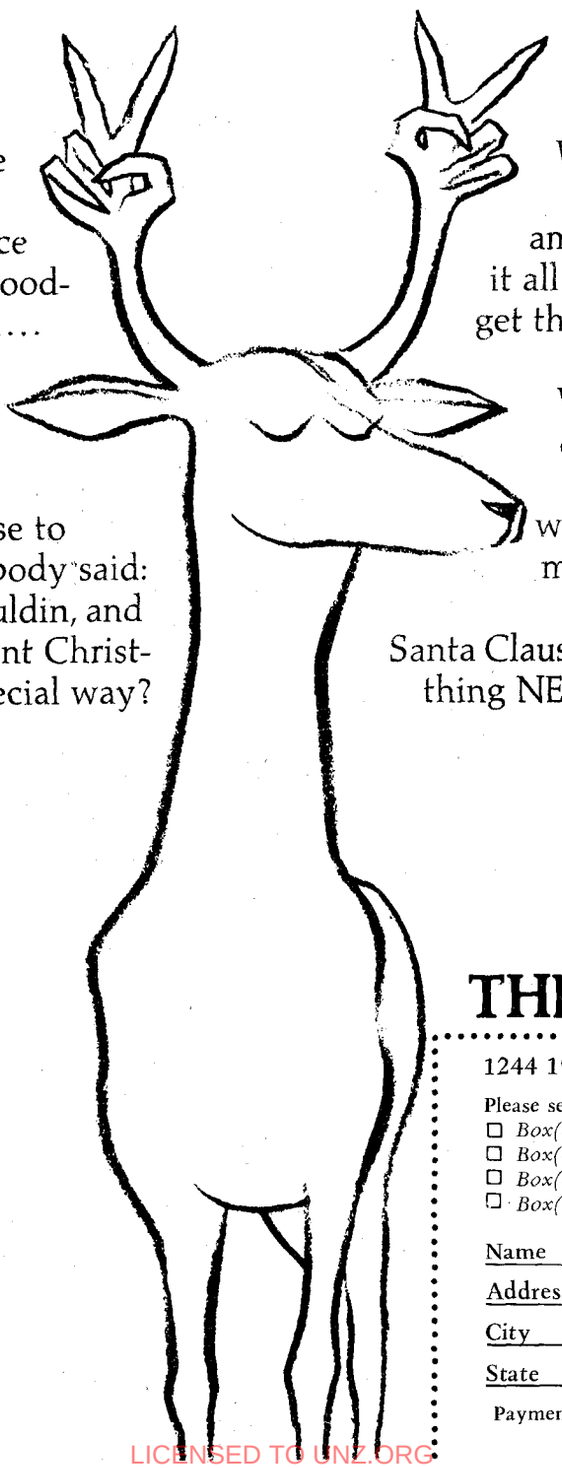
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

7 Very special Christmas cards by 3 unexpected

SANTA CLAUSES!

The New Republic's own CHRISTMAS Greetings . . . designed for us by our famous cartoonists-in-residence!

Jules Feiffer **Robert Osborn** **Bill Mauldin**



It happened this way: We were sitting around wondering when, if ever, peace would come . . . and how goodwill would win the world . . . and whether again next December we would be slitting open all those envelopes and reading "Greetings from our house to your house" . . . and somebody said: Why not ask Feiffer, Mauldin, and Osborn to draw a different Christmas—each in his own special way?

We did—and they did! The result: seven entrancing, amusing designs that express it all for all of us. We rushed to get them printed and boxed and ready for mailing—by you. We see it as an original way of saying NO to hypocrisy and of pretense . . . a joyous way of saying YES to Christmas-That-Still-Can-Be. "Yes, Virginia, there are THREE Santa Clauses, and they've made something NEW of Christmas greetings."

$6 for a Box of 12 cards.
ORDER YOURS NOW!

All cards in two colors . . . printed on handsome white vellum with envelopes.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 200[illegible]

Please send me:

- ☐ *Box(es) of Jules Feiffer (6 ea. of two designs)* @ $6
- ☐ *Box(es) of Bill Mauldin (6 ea. of two designs)* @ $6
- ☐ *Box(es) of Robert Osborn (4 ea. of 3 designs)* @ $6
- ☐ *Box(es) of a selection of all three* @ $6

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Payment enclosed. (Sorry, no charge orders accepted.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

presents

A Questionnaire for Citizen Leaders!

	Yes	No
1. Do you believe the public schools must be reformed?	☐	☐
2. Do you believe that public education is too important to be left solely to educators?	☐	☐
3. Do you think more money is essential for quality public education?	☐	☐
4. Do you feel that there should be accountability in public education?	☐	☐
5. Do you think there should be more public involvement in education policy making?	☐	☐
6. Do you think there should be more student involvement in education policy making?	☐	☐
7. Do you believe there is a need for greater distribution of information about public education?	☐	☐
8. Do you believe there is a need for a national citizens group devoted exclusively to improving public education?	☐	☐

If you have answered most of the questions in the affirmative, you should be a member of NCSPS!

NCSPS is a national citizens organization dedicated to narrowing the gap between promise and performance (between words and action). The National Committee offers its members a full program of services: publications, conferences and workshops, advice and assistance on local and state education problems. Our assistance ranges from providing general information on public education to providing technical assistance on such matters as Title I of ESEA.

As the only national citizens group addressing itself to major education reform, the National Committee promises to become a strong and effective force for school improvement in the decade ahead.

—James Cass, *Sat. Rev.* 9/18/71

MAIL TODAY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1424 Sixteenth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20036

PLEASE SEND INFORMATION ABOUT HOW I CAN BECOME A MEMBER.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

and manpower assigned to Justice. But, since "collision-avoidance was in the Administration's interests," Navasky writes, the net effect of Kennedy's scattered victories over the FBI, combined with his deference to Hoover, was that the Attorney General ceded half *his* power to the FBI and its director.

For the FBI, maintaining its autonomy even as it assumed new duties carried an additional, delicious connotation. Now it could use the telephone tap and the hidden microphone over a wider range. Despite the impression Robert Kennedy tried to give in his campaigns for the Senate and the presidency, Navasky says, the Attorney General never had any qualms about the use of wiretaps, looking upon them as a "law enforcement necessity rather than as a threat to individual liberties or an invasion of privacy."

Kennedy tried to obtain congressional authorization for the wider use of wiretaps, an extension that other attorney generals and Hoover had based on dubious interpretations of language in national security legislation. Yet each succeeding bill Kennedy submitted contained new and better safeguards against the potential abuse of wiretaps. It's a puzzle. Ten days before taking office, when he was briefed on the Justice Department's tapping procedures in the national security area, Kennedy never bothered to ask for a list of taps in progress, nor did he ever sit down with Hoover to discuss and establish explicit and rigid criteria for national-security wiretapping. He never kept a record of the taps he had approved, so he never knew who was being tapped and when.

Of critical importance is the fact that the wiretaps were more often than not accompanied by hidden microphones – the bugs used against organized crime in Las Vegas, against the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, against Dr. Martin Luther King in his hotel rooms. It was the hidden microphone that yielded the information on Dr. King's sexual activities and, if it went a long way to embarrass Robert Kennedy later, it can only be said that the controversy was a logical outcome of his attitude toward the FBI and the use of wiretapping.

Even before the Kennedys arrived in Washington, J. Edgar Hoover had been carrying on a vendetta against the black leader, a vendetta that gained in shrillness as Dr. King's influence grew. Hoover insisted to Kennedy – and to anyone else who would listen, including the CIA – that King was nothing but a Communist dupe. Almost from the moment Robert Kennedy first set foot in the department, Hoover hounded him for permission to put King under wiretap surveillance, and in October 1963, Kennedy gave in. If there were the slightest chance that King was in any way tainted with Communists, the administration wanted to know about it before Southern congressmen could use the information in the upcoming battle over the Civil Rights bill. Since the Kennedys didn't believe that King was under Communist influence, they thought the tap might be useful in persuading Hoover he was wrong. But the more important justification was simply convenience. "In the last analysis," Navasky writes, "Robert Kennedy authorized the tap to avoid problems with the FBI."

Kennedy knew about the taps. Did he know about the bugs?

Navasky thinks not. But Kennedy, he says, made no real attempt to find out about them, an "uncharacteristic lack of curiosity on his part." Kennedy's experience on the McClellan committee, and his experience with Internal Revenue Service bugging procedures should have alerted him to possible abuse. But if it did not it was not because, as Kennedy-phobes might assume, he chose to wink at the procedure. His lack of concern about bugs, says Navasky, was "consistent with his casual approach" to electronic surveillance generally: "To the extent that Kennedy was ignorant of the FBI's bugging practices, it was an administrative failure so flagrant that Kennedy is morally chargeable with the consequence of his ignorance. . . . As Attorney General, he had an obligation to know . . .There he was technically, morally, administratively and in every other way responsible for the FBI's illegal acts. Because he created an environment of urgency he had a special obligation to check the excesses which urgency begets. His unsystematic handling of national security taps contributed to the FBI's apparent assumption that it was bugging with his approval – spoken or unspoken – and that its bugging practices were consistent with Kennedy standards."

Kennedy found himself making a "Faustian bargain, trading policy for power. By putting pressure on the FBI to produce, yet never questioning its right to be let alone, Kennedy inadvertently underwrote wholesale invasions of privacy, alienated the movement to which he was authentically drawn, diminished the Department's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capacity for flexible action and encouraged the Bureau in a tendency which students of totalitarian societies have detected in all secret police – the accumulation of secret dossiers as a means of social control, of intimidating dissent."

Navasky pulls up short of saying that Kennedy drove us far down the road to repression. But he makes us wish that Kennedy and his administrators had been just a bit less "whiz-bang" and had spent more time on procedures, on establishing methods of operation not so easily open to abuse by others. That might have entailed taking the FBI in hand, and a head-on clash with Hoover might have rattled the Kennedys and the country. But temporizing did not leave us, or the Kennedy legacy, better off.

John J. Fried

Notable

Walking Papers
by Sandra Hochman

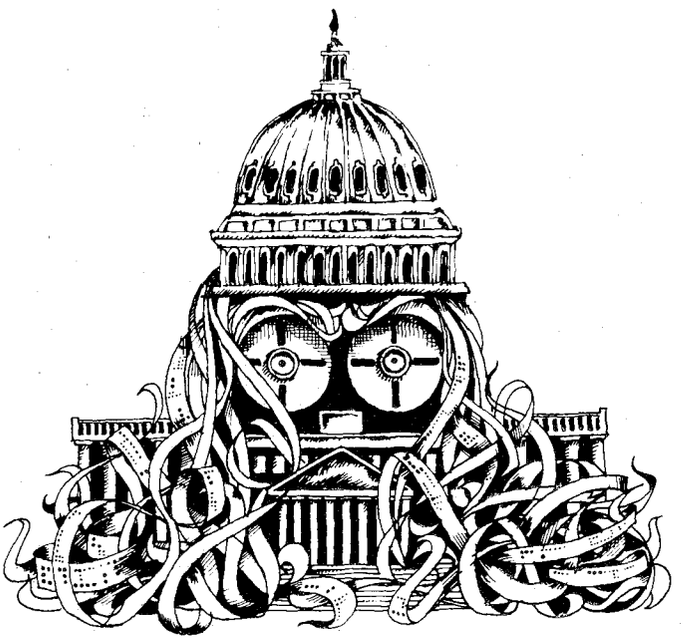
(Viking; $6.95)

The child Diana is brought up with the hysteria of divorce proceedings, and then moves smartly into the divorce game herself, so that life becomes for her a sort of permanent nonsense shuffle of intimacies and antagonisms. At the beginning she is in an age of heavily frosted decadence and heading out, following three marriages, after an "Armenian madman." Then the story flashes back to her childhood with divorce, and the tone accordingly shifts to the sentimental. Thereafter the novel zigs and zags between these extremes.

The romantic sensibility has frequently been characterized as given to heights and depths but no middle; Sandra Hochman is a good instance, and displays as well a double style, one a highly sophisticated impressionism full of bright imagery and exotic, surreal juxtapositions, the other a straightforward reminiscingness. The two don't get on well and the novel may perhaps be faulted for the resultant unevenness, the reader being stuck with an unreliable

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN J. FRIED *is a freelance writer and is working on two books.* ARNOLD KETTLE *is professor of literature at the Open University, England.*



Information Technology in a Democracy

Alan F. Westin, editor

Privacy invasion in a Technological Age?

Government agencies generate extensive data with computers and communications networks, analyze these data, and apply the output in a systematic manner to questions of public policy. What effect is this having on our social and political life? Some fifty distinguished contributors, ranging from enthusiastic proponents to harsh critics, capture here the great debate raging about the end-use of public technological systems.

Harvard Studies in Technology and Society

$14.00

Harvard University Press

Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

narrator who rides off erratically in different directions at different times of the day, leaving behind brilliant but indecipherable notes. Yet there is fine humor here too, and a fierceness behind the cleverness that provides, in the novel's best moments, the necessary sense that it is no exercise but the real thing. It is surely, despite the confusion, one of the bright spots in the new novel season.

Burnt Toast by Peter Gould

(Knopf; $3.45)

Peter Gould must be the J. R. R. Tolkien of the communal overground, or the Lewis Carroll nightingale of the new age. This little first novel makes high mythology and winsome humor of life on a New England hippie-farm where nameless spirits rule the day and night.

The author and narrator, monikered Silent, passes through this hill-country dream in search of words enough to make him a poet. The others – old folks, children, a galaxy of animal friends – send him out from the farmhouse on his manhood's quest, and he finally finds the right formula on his father's tombstone. An old story, brilliantly retold in modern wacky anecdotal prose-poetry.

It's a private vision though, and some readers may not share the author's enchantment enough to take his point. But that, as the leprechauns say, is *their* problem.

SHOULD SCHOOLS SURVIVE?
Oct. 24-26
a strategy conference on the future of education, to be held at Bergamo, an on-going education center located in Dayton, Ohio
For information contact: BERGAMO
4435 E. Patterson Road
Dayton, Ohio 45430
(513) 426-2363, ext. 79

"CURIOUS, these doves finding that democracy requires Big Minh's name on the Vietnamese ballot whether or not legally called for—forgetting, no doubt, that it was said Big Minh who, as chief of the military junta, replaced Ngo Dinh Diem as chief of government without feeling any democratic need for ballots to help him along."
For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. P, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016. nr

MUSTACHE RAZOR

The uniquely designed head of our mustache razor accommodates a tapered blade with a ⅝" cutting edge at one end and a ¼" cutting edge at the other, that lets you shape your mustache perfectly. Gold-plated finish. 3" long. $5.60. 10 Mustache blades, $1. At 28 Hoffritz stores. Mail: add 65¢ pstg. & hndlg. Plus area sales tax. Credit cards. Catalog of 1,510 items, $1
HOFFRITZ HAS IT
20 Cooper Sq., Dept. NR15, N.Y.C. 10003

The Disappearance of Dr. Parkman by Robert Sullivan

(Little, Brown; $6.95)

The most sensational trial of nineteenth-century America occurred in 1850 in luminous Boston. Both the victim, who was identified as Dr. George Parkman through unsatisfactory headless parts, and the presumed gentle murderer, Professor John Webster, were related to, friends of, or known by, their elite associates at Harvard Medical College, prominent socialites and eminent literati. When Parkman vanished on November 23, 1849, only to reappear a week later in Webster's chambers, much the worse for apparent dismemberment, all of the nation exploded with ghoulish excitement. This was murder in the ivory towers, a setting that fired the Irish immigrants, scandalized the Brahmins, and intoxicated the frontiersmen.

The surface facts seem unequivocal. On the mentioned date, Dr. George Parkman – related to a prestigious Boston family, one of America's first psychiatrists, benefactor and member of the Harvard Medical College turned real estator and termed usurer by the impecunious – disappeared from view in early afternoon. Frenzied search and inviting reward-money led to the offices of Dr. John Webster, Professor of Chemistry at the institution, from whose furnace and privy were exhumed anatomical parts immediately identified as the invisible Dr. Parkman. The coroner's inquest which followed, the grand jury indictment and the trial itself were conducted under such publicized prejudgment that the accused was condemned despite the testimony of nearly the entire Harvard faculty, the support of men like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the unsavory character of the chief prosecution witness, and statements of disinterested persons who testified to seeing the victim after his presumed interment. Even the chief justice, the defense lawyers and the prosecuting attorney general behaved capriciously. Dr. Webster, described by friends and family as a whist man, was hanged on August 30, 1850 in the Leverett Street jail which was surrounded by uncontrollable thousands of appreciative viewers.

Justice Robert Sullivan has revived this intriguing chronicle, not only to cater to that pleasure inherent in unresolved murder but also to demonstrate soberly the massive power misused by the press as well as a variety of questionable legal practices. In these days of agitation against capital punishment, this resurrected, questionable hanging may be considered vital noose.

Sequel to Bretton Woods: A Proposal to Reform the World Monetary System by Lawrence B. Krause

(Brookings Institution; $1.00)

For those bewildered by the present world monetary crisis and the "real dangers" it poses to world trade and prosperity (so said the managing director of the International Monetary Fund last week), and for those who have not found the often arcane jargon of financial writers enlightening, this booklet should be helpful. The author and the publisher deserve special commendation for their fast work in getting it out. The facts it contains on gold losses, foreign trade, exchange rates and the rest, are nearly as fresh as the last Sunday supplement, while the intel-

Coming next week

Fall Book Issue with contributions by Saul Maloff, Jonathan Yardley, Louis Coxe, Reed Whittemore, John Seelye, Anthony Howard, Patrick O'Donovan, Donald Meyer, Richard Dudman, Jay Wright, David P. Young, and Peter Caws.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lectual content is a good deal deeper. Krause explains how the US moved from a surplus to a deficit position in its international accounts, what the consequences are, and why President Nixon's reaction, in his monetary and trade measures of August 15, has enraged our trading partners. Mr. Krause's own plan for international stability is a good one, and runs along the lines of reform already identified and supported by most other academic experts. It calls for substitution of "paper gold" (special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund) for real gold and dollars as international reserves, and for more flexible exchange rates. But his enthusiasm for the plan outruns the good expository judgment he demonstrates in other sections of the work, and he lapses into the usual language of monetary experts, presuming a background of information on the intricacies of international finance that not many readers will have. Still, much is crammed into 50 pages that is understandable and sensible.

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

he was so overwhelmingly attractive to these two tasteful people, and, second, his behavior cannot be called a performance. An actor who really fulfilled the role wouldn't have erased the film's faults but at least wouldn't have underlined them.

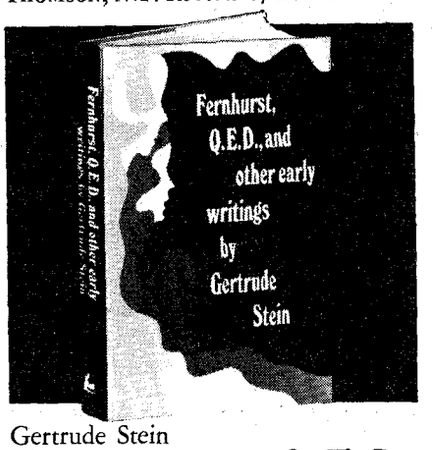
Schlesinger has worked throughout with a great many huge close-ups and slow dissolves, so that, though the colors are generally muted, the film has a mushy texture that contradicts its air of understatement. He has never been an original director, but in his best work – *A Kind of Loving, Billy Liar, Midnight Cowboy* – he has synthesized intelligently and affectingly. Here I was chiefly conscious of bits and pieces and sources. The blue-filtered scene in the all-night drugstore is like the blue-filtered supermarket in *Petulia.* The youthful skaters in the nighttime streets seem out of *Blow-Up.* Schlesinger even takes a bit from himself: the clergyman on TV while the couple copulate is like the scene with Jon Voight and Sylvia Miles in *Midnight Cowboy.*

Self-indulgence: a Bar Mitzvah that Finch attends (he's Jewish) goes on long past its use. Mechanical build-up: there's so much joy on an outing in a park with the children that we know there *must* be some disaster ahead. (There is.) Explication: every time we might be imagining something, Schlesinger spells it out for us – Finch at his nephew's Bar Mitzvah, flashing back to his own; Jackson, after a dog is run over, imagining that it might have been a child; Finch, just come from a hospital call (another good *peripheral* scene) envisioning that it might have been Head who was near death. Muzzy viewpoint: why does Schlesinger give us bits from the viewpoint of minor characters? (The parents of the children, for instance, as they drive off.) The *Elvira Madigan* syndrome: Schlesinger leans on Mozart, a heavenly trio from *Così fan tutte.* (Two women and a man, but a trio!)

There is some attempt to "situate" the film in our society. Love thrives by telephone these days so we watch calls move along telephone circuits. (An idea used some ten years ago by two USC film students, Stuart Hanisch and Russ McGregor, in a well-known short called *Have I Told You Lately That I Love You?*) We are told often, on car radios and in headlines, that this is a time of economic crisis. But these things, and others, seem only ritual obeisance to import; they don't resonate against anything the characters are or do, as cognate materials did in *Midnight Cowboy.*

And then there's the title. I thought

"All this apprentice work of Stein is of value, has life in it." —VIRGIL THOMSON, *N.Y. Review of Books*



Gertrude Stein

Fernhurst, Q.E.D.

and Other Early Writings

In these literary first steps, written before 1910, Stein proves herself already a gifted writer with a profound understanding of the human mind.

"An exceedingly interesting volume . . . [it] carries the leitmotifs that were to develop and strengthen in her work as the years went by."—*Publishers' Weekly*

$8.95 at all bookstores

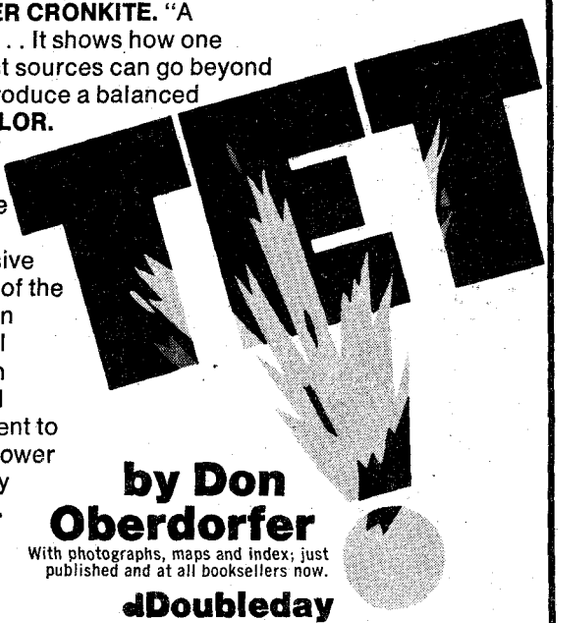
LIVERIGHT

386 Park Ave. So., N.Y. 10016

Top reporters agree on this gripping narrative history:

"Probably the best book yet on the war in Vietnam."

"A whale of a book"—**WALTER CRONKITE.** "A decisively important book. . . . It shows how one skilled reporter with the best sources can go beyond the Pentagon Papers and produce a balanced history."—**JOHN CHANCELLOR.** "TET! kept me up all night."—**MARY McGRORY.** "Oberdorfer gives suspense to history."—**DAVID HALBERSTAM.** "The Tet Offensive ranks with Waterloo as one of the world's decisive battles. Don Oberdorfer's book puts it all together—from the drama in Saigon through the political shock that caused a President to abdicate and the greatest power in the world to turn its policy around."—**JOSEPH KRAFT.**

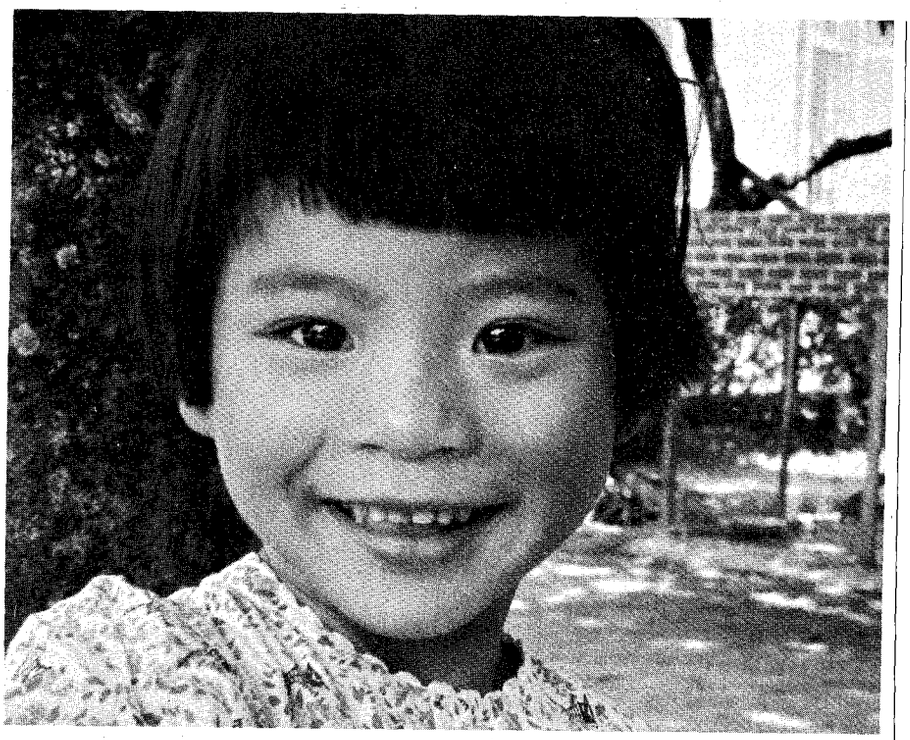


by Don Oberdorfer

With photographs, maps and index; just published and at all booksellers now.

dDoubleday

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



...but just look at her now!

When Su May first came to our Home in Hong Kong, the other children called her "Girl-who-will-not-laugh."

And there was a reason for her sadness. Her parents were dead, her relatives didn't want her. It seemed that no one in the world loved her.

So why the big smile now? Well, Su May has discovered that someone does love her. She lives in a pretty cottage along with her new "brothers and sisters"—and has loving care from a housemother, especially trained for the difficult task of being a mother to youngsters like Su May.

And just look at her now. She doesn't have a worry in the world—but we do. Because, you see, we must find a sponsor for Su May. A sponsor who will help provide food, clothing, education—love.

And Su May is only *one* heartbreaking case out of thousands . . . boys and girls who are neglected, unwanted, starving, unloved. Our workers overseas have a staggering number of children desperately waiting for help—over 15,000 youngsters, that will just have to survive the best they can until we find sponsors for them.

How about you? Will you sponsor a child like Su May? The cost is only $12 a month.

Please fill out the sponsor application below—you can indicate your preference, or let us assign you a child from our emergency list.

Then, in about two weeks, you will receive a photograph of your child, and a personal history. Your child will write to you, and a housemother will send you the original and an English translation, direct from overseas.

Won't you share your blessings—and your love—with a needy child?

Countries of greatest need this month: India, Brazil, Hong Kong and Taiwan (Formosa).

Write today: Verent J. Mills

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc.

Box 26511, Richmond, Va. 23261

I wish to sponsor a ☐ boy ☐ girl in (Country) _____

☐ Choose a child who needs me most. I will pay $12 a month. I enclose first payment of $_____

Send me child's name, story, address and picture.

I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____

☐ Please send me more information

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Registered (VFA-080) with the U. S. Government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Gifts are tax deductible.

Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto 7.

NR 5600

it meant something about weekend boredom, but the film story begins on a Friday, ends a week from Sunday, thus includes two Sundays. I don't know why the ten days have to be labeled with subtitles or why the picture is called what it is.

There's some acuteness in the film and the chance for pleasant recognitions of human quirk. But mostly it seems to want credit for what it does *not* do: it does not have any worked-up plot, does not spell out all its motivations, does not end on any high dramatic or low ironic note. In fact, it does *not* do so much that it made me think of Roy Campbell's famous quatrain about some South African novelists:

> You praise the firm restraint with which they write –
> I'm with you there, of course.
> They use the snaffle and the curb all right;
> But where's the bloody horse?

Recommended reading. There's an ancient schism between criticism and aesthetics, and, for my part, I hope it continues. Aesthetics is often little more than busy intellectual exercise, and the value judgments of aestheticians are often ridiculous. But I want to recommend an essay called "Basic Film Aesthetics" by F. E. Sparshott, professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto, published in the April 1971 issue of the *Journal of Aesthetic Education.* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Ill., 61801. $2.25)

"What is a good film?" is, and will remain, an unanswerable question. "How shall I judge a film?" is somewhat less unanswerable, and Sparshott addresses himself to the difference. His essay lives up to its title precisely. In 24 pages he maps out territory, analyzes some components, attacks some fallacies, and radiates sanity. He describes the loci of some values, without trying to prescribe values themselves. After his analysis of concepts and after his insistence on technical appreciation, he concludes:

> Beyond that, the moral and cultural side of a critique must depend on the maturity and sensitivity of the critic's social and moral awareness. If you could teach someone to be a critic, you could teach him to be a man.

I hope the essay will be widely reprinted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Personals

STABLE FAMILIES WANTED to invest capital and labor in 400 acre ecotelic farm in New Zealand. No drugs. Box 5005, The New Republic.

TERM PAPERS AVAILABLE for English, History, Etc. For free list, write Box 465, Bowling Green Station, NYC 10004.

HOW TO CREATE WORLD GOVERNMENT info 10¢. Mark Terry, 3834 N. Sheffield, Chicago, Ill. 60613.

DO YOU LIKE top grade name-imprinted stationery? Send 25¢ (postage-handling) for idea-packed social-professional sample assortment showing many available type faces. Beautiful rainbow, colors. Jacques Stationery, Room 1N, 328 East 25th, New York 100010.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN POSTER, $2.00. ABU Productions, 205 Arnaz, Beverly Hills, 90211.

PUZZLER'S PARADISE: Exhilarating challenges, solutions – $1. International Puzzle Club, Box 241, Laguna Beach, California 92652.

"THINK GREEN" Posters/Bumperstickers. 2/$1.00, 6/$2.50, P.O. Box 178, Rye, New York, 10580.

HARPSICHORDS AND CLAVICHORDS – New Flemish Harpsichord, curved bentside, uncompromising classic construction and detail, $295. Other kits from $100. Send for free brochure. Zuckermann Harpsichords, Inc. Dept. P. 160 Sixth Avenue, New York 10013

IDEAS FOR SALE – ANY TOPIC. Can afford ad once. Send self-addressed envelope. If liked send $5.00 to Studentsupport Rt. 2, Box 203, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

"BATTLE" OF ARMAGEDDON NOT BIBLICAL. Brochure mailed free. Crawford Research, Box 42, Sun City, California 92381.

LINDSAY '72; Bumperstickers and Buttons – 3/$1.00; P. O. Box 41162, Sacramento, California 95841.

PENFRIENDS. For free information, write: Papyrus, Box 11604 NE, Winston-Salem, N.C., 27106.

MCGOVERN '72; materials $1.00, Dartmouth Students for McGovern, Box 725, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. F.F.C. or telephone 301-652-0536.

ALPHAPHONE® headset – brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, Ca. 95460.

TRANSLATIONS, any language. Michael Pilorget, 3915 Foster Street, Flint, Michigan 48505.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception. – AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles 00036.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th St., New York 10016.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKOUT – Perfect prints, 8 or 12-shot rolls, $2; 20-shot rolls, $3; 36-shot rolls, $5. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $$ and film; write for mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Conn. 06355

MUSKIE 72, bumperstickers 4/$1.00, buttons 5/$1.00. MUSKIE, 375 Buena Vista, Bridgeport, Conn. 06604.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.50. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24 – NR, Olympia, Washington.

ALPHA-, THETA-WAVE Biofeedback. Relaxed awareness, meditation, body control. Inner Space Electronics, Box 319NR, Fairfax, Ca., 94930.

FOR RESEARCH ON STUART DAVIS (1894 – 1964), I would like to hear from those having paintings, drawings, prints, correspondence, or other materials relating to the artist. Robert Hunter, Visiting Research Associate, National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 20560.

McGOVERN buttons, bumperstickers: 3/$1. Special photo button: $1. Mobile: $2. Bulk rates. Proceeds to campaign. McGovern Committee, P.O. Box 472, Vermillion, S.Dak., 57069.

DUMP NIXON '72 large, colorful decal. $1.00 ppd. Box 97, College Park, Md. 20740.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 556N, Ojai, California 93023.

DELIGHTFUL, EDUCATIONAL VACATIONING. Fasting. Reducing. Rejuvenation. Health Education. Peaceful surroundings. Cooperative employment available. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923 – NR

"FREEZE NIXON" Bumperstickers, 2/$1.00 sent same day, K. Brown, 4300 W. Ford City Drive, Chicago, 60652.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Enclose $5.00 with uncopied, unlined paragraph. *Alice Hays Spangler*, 4119 Davis Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Peace Personals

PEACE CHRISTMAS CARDS, 15/$2.75. Samples 50¢. International McClelland, NR, Beverly Hills 90210.

POSTERS (over 300, many anti-war) BUTTONS (over 175) PATCHES, BUMPERSTICKERS & other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). A BIG LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission St., San Francisco, 94103.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

Literature

NEWS FROM CHINA: Subscribe now: Peking Review weekly airmail $4; Monthlies at $3 each: China Pictorial, China Reconstructs, Chinese Literature. Free catalog: Imported publications in English from China & Vietnam. CHINA BOOKS, 2929 24 St., San Francisco, Cal. 94110.

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, N.Y. 14619.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

Authors

CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA PUBLISHER seeking manuscripts: fiction, non-fiction, scholarly, etc. for publication in new magazine. TREND, 4620 Fritchey Street, Harrisburg, Pa., 17109.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZV 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

PROFESSIONAL EDITOR-MIDWEST for manuscripts, articles. Design, write pamphlets, brochures. Box 5000.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY Writing Short Paragraphs. Information Free. Barrett, Dept. C-456-A, 6216 N. Clark, Chicago, 60626.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11001.

WRITERS – "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

FRANCONIA IS SEEKING qualified freshmen and transfer students for Spring (Feb. 15) and Fall 1972 admission. Students who are ready to play an active role in planning their education are invited to apply. For application, catalog or interview appt., contact Admissions, Box NRP, Franconia College, Franconia, N.H. 03580.

SUMMERHILL ORIENTED SCHOOL-Modified free school approach. All academic classes and activities: English, reading, science, music, drama, math, art, crafts, riding, organic gardening, pottery, camping, animals, etc. Freedom with responsibility-Learning because it's exciting, not compulsory. Boarding school (optional weekends at home) 2 hrs. N.Y.C., Ages 6-13. Open Community School, Box 5R, Claverack, New York, 12513 (518) 851-3311.

TEACHING GAMES - Free information from, postcard to: Games Central, 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.

Employment Opportunities

TEACHING POSITIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. 1972-73 Guide contains current information about private and government organizations seeking teachers. General and personal requirements, geographic areas, addresses for application forms. 100-page book including survey of foreign embassies!! Over 20,000 copies in print since 1969. Guaranteed satisfaction. $2.50 plus $.50 postage and handling. Foreign Countries, Box 514-E, Ames, Iowa 50010.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure. $4.00 Infomex, NR 1271 Box 366, Berea, Ohio 44017.

AUSTRALIA! Addresses of over 500 U.S. firms operating in this exciting land – $3.00. Request directory information for other countries: IBA, Box 5528-N, San Mateo, California 94402.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 942-N, Belmont, California 94002.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA NEEDS YOU – New 1971 Australian Handbook describing free passage, employment opportunities, business, farming, teaching etc. $1.00. Employment directories: Australian businesses $1.00. U.S. businesses there $1.00. All three $2.00 (550 employers listed.) Buckeye, Box 1032 NZ Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

EUROPEAN – FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT – Detailed report on currently available jobs – Europe, Australia, Africa, $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643 – P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

JOBS! OVERSEAS-U.S.A. Year-round and Summer Jobs. Jobs with Money, Challenge, Opportunity, Travel. All occupations and trades. Write: JOBSCOPE, Box 746, NR, Woodbridge, California 95258.

NEW MULTISPECIALTY SALARIED GROUP PRACTICE based in University affiliated teaching hospital has positions still available in Internal Medicine, Family Medicine, Obstetrics-Gynecology and Pediatrics. Applicants must be interested in working with nurse practitioners and serving all socioeconomic groups. Optional opportunity for University appointments and active teaching of house staff and medical students from the University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry. Equal opportunity employer. Contact: Dr. James Tobin, Medical Director, Genesee Medical Group, The Genesee Hospital, 224 Alexander Street, Rochester, New York 14607.

NEW EXCITING REPORT – "How To Get a Job Overseas," 253 pages, $2.00 – International Business Associates, Box 5528-N, San Mateo, California, 94402.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1972 Government Information and Forms – Most Complete Information Available – $1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

Property-Sale/Rent

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA – ON LOVEL LARGE STREAM. Beautiful two-acre forested parcels. A unique plan, very small, private, with natural beauty preserved by restrictions. Excellent riding, swimming, fishing and dramatic mountain view. Year around paved access. No bulldozers, costly promotion or hard sell. Sierras, between Almanor and Antelope Lakes. Write owner, H. Page, Taylorsville, California.

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D.C. 20036.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, The Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; forward looking, integrated communities. Contact The Shaker Communities, 3494 Lee Road, Suite 207, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. (216)751-2155.

Vacations/Travel

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK, 1,100 organization named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

AUTO BABYSITTERS. INDOOR parking. Rates LOWER than outdoor airport/pier parking. Pick-up/delivery. Branches throughout NYC, Savoy Garages, 827 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216 (212) 493-9800.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JGP, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Greenery

BONSAI: ZELKOVA NIRE, WIRED, POTTED (CLAY), $25.00, plus $3.00 shipping. Illustrated catalogue 25¢. SAKASHIMAYA, Grahamsville, New York 12740.

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalogue. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

Cookery

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 19, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

Ecology

HELP AID ENVIRONMENTAL CRISES, join *Friends for Bikecology*. Help redirect national priorities into human resource programs. Including Bicycling. For program write 1035 East Delaguerra Street, Santa Barbara, California, 93103.

Arts and Crafts

WOMEN'S LIB JEWELRY! The Lib-Sym, created by women for women. Fist encircled in female biological symbol. Silver or gold plate; black, red, green or blue enamel highlights. Pendant on chain $3, pin $2.50. Prepaid. Bar-Dot Company, Box 984NR, Hartford, Connecticut 06101.

"THE WHITE HOUSE, oh the White House. It ain't no lighthouse." Ezra Pound poem on silk screened poster. $2.00. 1937 Hayes Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94117.

HANDCRAFTED ORGANIC LEATHERWORK (watchbands, etc.). No dyes, oil finish, unique designs, excellent under-$5 gifts. 50¢ for key ring sample, brochure. Selden, Route 1, St. Regis Falls, New York 12980.

CHRISTMAS CARDS by thirteen young artists, mod, colorful, Christocentric, peaceful. For 16 usable samples send 35¢ to Seminary Press Dept. NR, Box 11437, St. Louis 63105.

MACRAME' PANTS BELT. Create your own wide *macrame'* belt with good earth materials – natural jute cord, 3" round wood buckle and 4 beads. Complete instructions, plus easy-to-follow actual size pattern. Send $3.50 to Macraniques, Box 717-N, Enon, Ohio, 45323.

APPALACHIAN QUILTS, a quality product, from $25.00 and up. Write Pike County Citizens Association, Box 10, Hellier, Kentucky 41534.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro. Reasonable. Illustrated catalogue. 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56 Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

JAPANESE WOODCUT PRINTS. Masterpieces by Sharaku, Utamaro, Hokusai, Hiroshige, etc. New catalogue, fully illustrated with 486 subjects. $6.00. Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints, CPO Box 362, Tokyo, Japan.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED CLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

Records/Tapes

YOGA Meditation Records. Experiences in physical and emotional control. Two record set $9.95. YANA-MARA YOGA CENTRE, West Middlesex, Pa. 16159.

Unique listening experience. A DRUG ADDICT talks of his life. Available on thirty minute cassette or reel. $5.95 postpaid. Audio Venture, Canaan, New York 12029.

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

Music

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments. Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kits $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record; HERE, INC., #N, Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS – Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli, Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc. Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McGovern's Quiet Progress

McGovern? A great guy!

Would obviously be a great President — if only we could appoint him!

First U. S. Senator to speak out against our military intervention in Vietnam, way back in 1963.

Outstanding critic of the defense budget.

Lonely crusader against hunger in America.

Chief architect of delegate selection reform in the Democratic Party.

Consistently liberal but a big vote-getter in his conservative native state of South Dakota.

But the Democratic presidential nomination? Forget it. He doesn't have a chance. Starts from too far behind. And too nice a guy. Not fiery enough.

And so on and so on. Right?

This was pretty much the reaction when Senator McGovern shattered political precedent last January by becoming a declared candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination a whole year ahead of time.

"They tell us that George McGovern cannot become President because he is too decent," wrote newspaper columnist Pete Hamill.

The Nation agreed: "His decency as a human being is a distinct liability."

But as The New Republic said during McGovern's hearings on hunger, "It is awfully hard to stop men like McGovern. They have iron in them . . . Don't underestimate him."

And since he declared his candidacy, he has campaigned tirelessly and progressed steadily.

Now, people are beginning to rub their eyes in astonishment and say, "By golly, maybe he *does* have a chance!"

First of all, he has received nearly $500,000 from supporters, mostly in small contributions of $1 to $100. That's not nearly enough to carry him through all the primaries, of course. But it's a remarkable outpouring of sentiment so early in the game.

He's won the support of people with a lot of savvy and high standards, such as John Kenneth Galbraith, Gloria Steinem, George Wald, Hans Morgenthau, William Sloan Coffin, Arthur Schlesinger, Henry Steele Commager, Frank Manckiewicz, Shirley MacLaine, Blair Clark.

In New Hampshire, he has the support of half the people who were Democratic Delegates in 1968 and three-fourths of the people who were McCarthy Delegates.

In New York, he has been endorsed by the Democratic Party Leader of Queens, Matthew Troy; the Borough President of the Bronx, Robert Abrams; and recent Democratic candidate for the U. S. Senate, Richard Ottinger.

In Nebraska, former Governor Frank Morrison will serve as Chairman of Nebraska Citizens for McGovern.

"CROWDS HAIL McGOVERN IN WISCONSIN," read a headline in The New York Times on March 8. The news story which followed reported that "he drew about 4,500 persons to a speech on the University of Wisconsin campus, and the audience, noted for its intolerance of politicians, gave him a standing ovation at the end. Later, Friday, he drew another overflow crowd at a Madison hotel reception despite a driving snowstorm."

In Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin reported on July 29 that "The 1972 Pennsylvania Presidential primary is still nine months away, but Delaware County Democrats are reportedly already lining up support for South Dakota Senator George S. McGovern. Several local Democrats recently stated that support for McGovern has increased in the past few months.

"Every Democrat who has expressed an interest about becoming a candidate for delegate to the national convention is supporting McGovern," one leader said.

Students for McGovern chapters have sprung up on more than 350 college campuses.

Tom Wicker of The New York Times told political writer Jack Newfield, according to Newfield's account in The Village Voice on August 12, "George is being under estimated. I think he is probably not getting the (newspaper) space he deserves. He is quite strong in the farm belt. He has real organizations going in some of those states. I think McGovern is going to win a primary, and then some folks are going to have egg on their face."

Maybe it's too soon to call all this a groundswell.

But it's not too soon to say that McGovern is a serious contender for the presidential nomination.

And it's not too soon for you to make up your mind to help him get it.

The primary campaigns in New Hampshire and Florida begin in barely 120 days. After that comes Wisconsin.

The stronger the showing McGovern makes in these first primaries, the stronger he will become in terms of support, financial backing, and news coverage.

Thanks to the reforms drafted by the McGovern Commission, at least 63% of the delegates to the 1972 Democratic Convention will be directly elected by the people in at least 23 state primaries.

This means that, for the first time, the candidate who successfully takes his case to the people can be assured of winning the nomination, whether the "power brokers" like it or not.

And you can play a part in helping Senator McGovern take his case to the people, by making a contribution to his campaign now.

The Pentagon papers have widened the credibility gap between the Administration and the country into a canyon. American people are hungering for a man they can trust — a man who sees the truth and tells the truth.

We think George McGovern is such a man. And we urge you to join with us in helping him win the Democratic presidential nomination, by mailing the coupon with your heartfelt contribution.

McGovern is getting there. Here's your chance to help.

Mail To: McGovern for President Committee
410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003

☐ **I support Senator McGovern in his efforts to lead our country along the path of peace, reconciliation and rededication. Enclosed is my contribution of $_____**

☐ **Miss**
☐ **Mrs.**
☐ **Mr.**

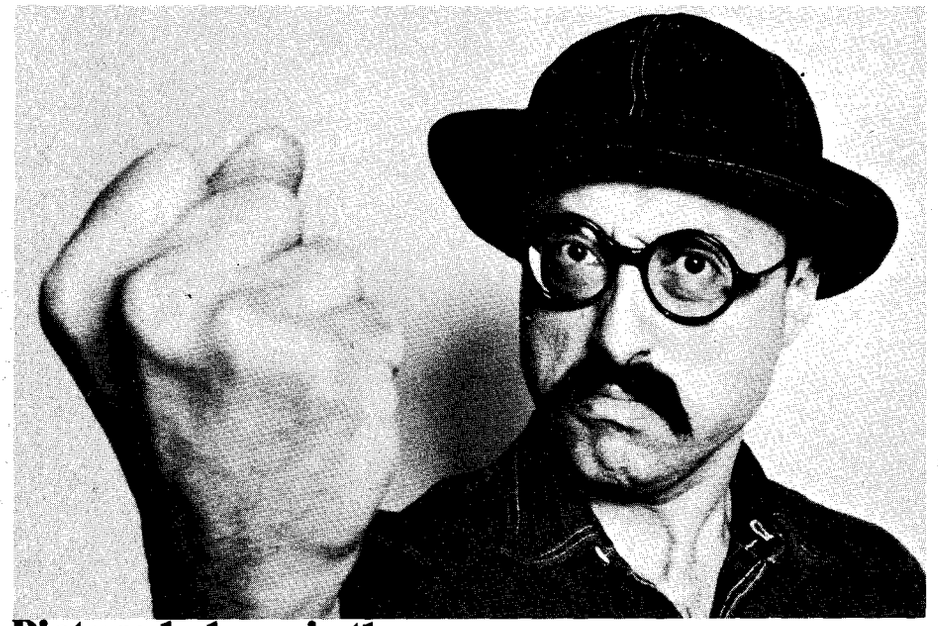
Address **Apt.**

City **State** **Zip**

☐ **Please enroll me in the McGovern for President Club made up of supporters pledged to contribute $10 or more a month until the convention, and keep me closely informed on the progress of the campaign.**

Please Make Checks Payable to McGovern for President Committee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Pictured above is the most tightfisted, thrifty man in America.

He is Ralph Ginzburg, the New York magazine publisher. No one holds on to money more tenaciously than he. Mr. Ginzburg has made a career of perfecting and implementing ingenious methods of making and saving money. Now he has even launched a publication devoted to that subject. Its name is **Moneysworth.**

Moneysworth is more than just a manual of Ralph Ginzburg's personal financial ploys. It is a brash, jolly, authoritative Fagin School in the art and science of shrewd investment and expenditure. It covers personal finance, investments, consumer affairs (including product ratings), and just about every other facet of money management.

Perhaps the best way to describe **Moneysworth** is to list the kinds of articles it prints:

The New Japanese Cars: A Rating

At Last, A Proven Method for Beating the Stock Market—How a little-known Government publication has been used by sophisticated investors to *quadruple* their gains over the past 10 years (compared with gains of the Dow-Jones average). Fortune magazine calls the method "extraordinary."

How Ralph Ginzburg Earns Interest of *50%* from a California Savings Bank (Insured)

How to Collect Social Security from Canada and the United States *Simultaneously*

The Third Most Expensive Item You'll Ever Buy—It's your funeral, and **Moneysworth** tells how to minimize the grief.

Is She or Isn't She?—A little-known, reliable $2 mail-order self-test kit for pregnancy lets her know for sure.

"How We Live on Less than $75 a Month"

Earn Interest on Your *Checking* Account

The Unshrouded Facts About Life Insurance—This article may save you *hundreds* of dollars.

Sewing Machines that Seam Fine—Why **Moneysworth** chose a $40 model as its best buy.

Living Afloat without Getting Soaked—By novelist Sloan Wilson.

Freeze-Dried Coffees Rated (and Berated)

Small Bite—How to get dentures from one of America's top dental clinics *for only $40.*

Water Beds Are Making a Big Splash

Hiring a Lawyer to Avoid the Draft

How to Hold onto Your Auto Insurance

Food Fit for King: Best Buys in Dog Food

A Blast at Aerosol Cans—How they threaten your health and pick your pocketbook.

Providing Your Teenager with Contraception

The Wisdom of Maintaining a Secret Swiss Banking Account—Half a million Americans can't be wrong.

America's 25 Best Free Colleges—As rated by the students themselves.

The Boom in Going Bust—The growing popularity of personal bankruptcy.

How to Get a Divorce without a Lawyer

Air Travel at 50% Off

Ski Areas without Steep Prices

Drug Combinations that Can *Kill* You

The World's 100 Best Free Catalogs

Both a Borrower and Lender Be—Shrewd use of your life insurance's little-known loan feature.

How College Students Can Get Food Stamps

Undetected Bank Errors—A report on the untold millions of dollars lost each year by consumers who fail to reconcile their monthly bank statements.

The Most Dangerous Car of All

Tax-Free Bonds for the Small Investor

Franchising: Perils of "Being Your Own Boss"

Breakfasts of Champions—What nutritionists, health experts, and athletes (like the Army Surgeon General, Dr. Michael DeBakey, and Muhammad Ali) *really* eat for breakfast.

Investing in Scotch—The profits are staggering.

A Consumer's Guide to Prostitution

Quadraphonic Hi-Fi: Great Innovation or Commercial Hype?

Wheeling and Dealing for a New Bike—Which are the best buys and how to bargain for them.

The Painful Truth about Circumcision

How to Contest a Bad Credit Rating

Indigestion Remedies that Pass the Acid Test—An evaluation by brand name.

How Two Widows Nearly Got Merrill-Lynched

Illustrated Sex Manuals—A buying guide.

The Link Between Heart Attack and Coffee—A suppressed report by a member of the President's Commission on Heart Disease.

The Spirit of '72—A report on the new "light" whiskey that has the industry in ferment.

A Guide to Low-Cost Legal Abortion

Easy-Riding Motorcycles: New Models Rated

The Best of the Good Book—An evaluation of currently-available editions of The Bible.

Safety Bug—A preview of the Volkswagen model being developed to replace the easily crushed "Beetle."

In sum, **Moneysworth** is your own personal consumer crusader, trusted stockbroker, and chancellor of the exchequer—all in one. It is a bonanza of uncanny financial intelligence.

Although launched only a year ago, already **Moneysworth** has become the most widely read newsletter *in the world* (with a circulation of 350,000 and readership estimated at *one million*).

Every week, **Moneysworth** is inundated with enthusiastic, unsolicited testimonials like the following (which are completely authentic):

●"When you wrote up Bausch & Lomb's stock, I bought 100 shares at 44 and soon thereafter sold out for 139½. When you came out with James Dole, I bought 500 shares at 7½ and nine days later sold out for double. Net profit on the two transactions: $12,996. Let me assure you that I shall be a **Moneysworth** subscriber for life."—*Lawrence C. Gray; Ypsilanti, Mich.*

●"Thanks to the advice in your article 'Inaccurate Billing by the Phone Company,' my own firm—the Bayard Pump & Tank Company—has just received a $1,593 refund."—*Armand DiRienzo; Bristol, Pa.*

●"**Moneysworth** is to be commended for the reliability of its merchandise evaluations. I just bought a Canonet 35mm rangefinder camera—which you recommended as 'First Rate'—and have gotten some beautiful shots with it. Moreover, thanks to **Moneysworth**'s buying advice I saved over 30% on its cost."—*Robert D. Goodrich; Tucson, Ariz.*

●"Your article 'How to Fight a Traffic Ticket' saved me a $200 lawyer's fee and a ticket. I did exactly as you suggested—taking pictures of the scene and double-checking the statute book—and came out the winner in court. Many, many thanks."—*W.R. Wendel; Hicksville, N.Y.*

●"I had never heard of KMS Industries before you wrote up its stock. I bought 400 shares at 8¼ and sold them about 30 days later at 16½. Profit: $3,400."—*Carl H. Maser, Jr.; Burlington, N.C.*

●"Thanks to your article 'How to Buy a New Car for $125 Above *Dealer's* Cost,' I have just purchased a Malibu Sport Coupe at a saving that I conservatively estimate at $350."—*Ron Bromert; Anita, Iowa.*

●"Your article 'How to Avoid Paying an Exorbitant Doctor Bill' saved me $65. As a token of gratitude, I enclose payment for extension of my subscription."—*Carl Wagner; Yorktown Heights, N.Y.*

●"I am grateful for your tip on 'Tax Savings for Teachers'—which saved me the cost of a tax accountant *and* got me a very high income tax refund."—*Charles Bryan; Brooklyn, N.Y.*

●"Your article on low-cost, unadvertised trans-Atlantic air fares enabled me to save $108 on a vacation to Ireland. In addition, once I was there, I saved $64 on a car rental, thanks to your advice."—*Bernard Bullon; Bronx, N.Y.*

●"I have deposited $12,500 in a Mexican bank, as you suggested, and have been receiving, every month by airmail, interest at 9%. I am grateful to your excellent **Moneysworth** for telling me about this high rate of interest."—*Charles T. Malburn; Sarasota, Fla.*

●"Due to your information on stocks, I have made over $2,200 in less than a year. Yours is one of the most intelligent, down-to-earth, to-the-point periodicals ever published."—*Ruth Pantell; Yonkers, N.Y.*

●"Upon **Moneysworth**'s advice, I asked the phone company for an itemized bill. As a result, I discovered that for years I had been paying for a nonexistent extra line. Result: A $550 refund. My trial subscription has paid for itself 110 times over!"—*George T. Petsche; Washington, D.C.*

In short, **Moneysworth** has become an absolutely indispensable financial mentor for many of America's most astute consumers.

The staff of **Moneysworth** consists of several of the most keenly analytical and imaginative minds in the fields of financial and consumer journalism. At the helm, of course, is Ralph Ginzburg himself, as editor-in-chief. The managing editor of **Moneysworth** is Paul A. Riedel, of the Whitney Communications Corporation. Its articles editor is Dorothy Bates, formerly of Scientific American. Herb Lubalin, the world's foremost graphic designer, is **Moneysworth**'s art director, and John Tom Cohoe is its graphics editor. Augmenting this team of hard-nosed, experienced editors are reporters, researchers, product-testers, and consultants throughout the United States. Together, they create America's first—and only—financial periodical with *charisma.*

Moneysworth is published fortnightly. It is available by subscription only and costs $10 per year. **Right now, however, we are offering Special Introductory 32-Week Subscriptions for ONLY $3.88! This is a MERE FRACTION of the standard price.**

Moreover, we are so confident that **Moneysworth** will prove invaluable to you that we are about to make what is probably the most generous subscription offer in publishing history: *We will absolutely and unconditionally guarantee that the tips, techniques, and inside information in* **Moneysworth** *will increase the purchasing power of your income by at least 15%—or we'll refund your money IN FULL.* In other words, if you now earn $10,000 a year, **Moneysworth** guarantees that it will increase the value of your income *by at least $1,500*—or you get your money back. And, meanwhile, you will have enjoyed a subscription to **Moneysworth** *ABSOLUTELY FREE!* As you can see, a subscription to **Moneysworth** is an absolutely foolproof investment.

To enter your subscription, simply fill out the coupon below and mail it with $3.88 to: **Moneysworth**, 110 West 40th Street, New York, New York 10018.

We urge you to act at once. In this case, especially, time is money.

MONEYSWORTH

110 W. 40TH ST. NEW YORK 10018

I enclose $3.88 for a Special Introductory 32-Week Subscription to **Moneysworth**, the shrewd, audacious new fortnightly on consumer affairs and personal finance. I understand that this is a *MERE FRACTION* of the standard $10-per-year price. Moreover, **Moneysworth** guarantees that it will increase the purchasing power of my income by at least 15% *or I will get my money back IN FULL!!*

NAME RITTER LIBRARY

ADDRESS BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE

CITY STATE OCT 18 1971

© MONEYSWORTH 1971. T.M. REG. PEND.

snr-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED